




DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
DURHAM, N. C.

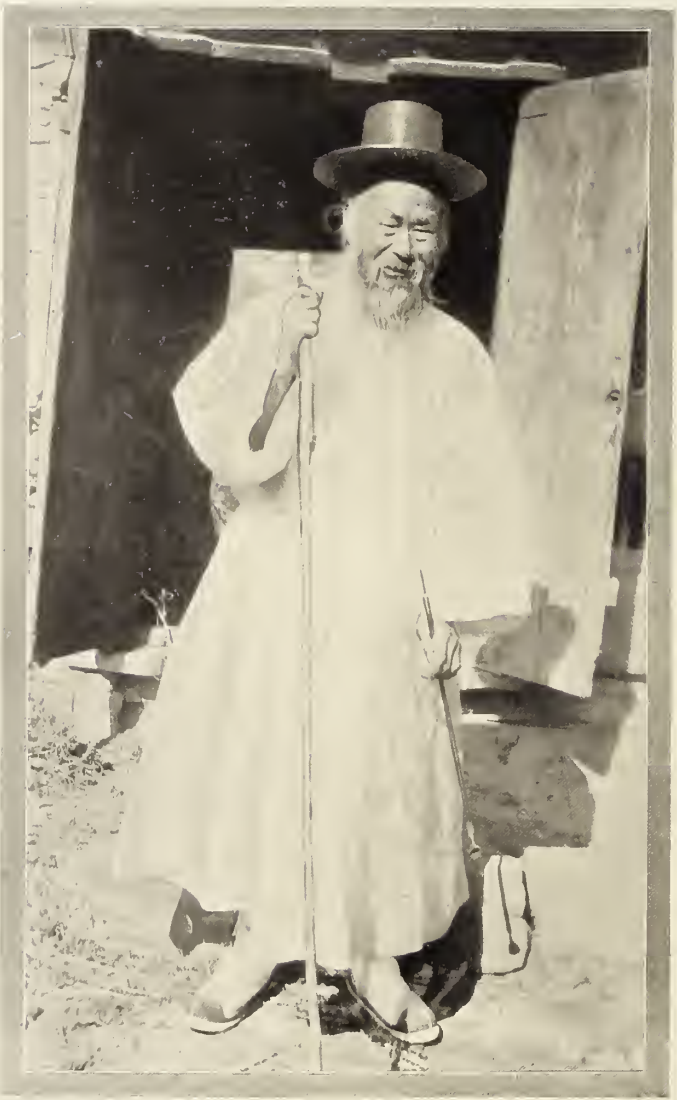


Rec'd July 27, 1928
Mr. J. A. Thomas
Donor

THE TRAGEDY OF KOREA



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Duke University Libraries



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

A KOREAN IN OLD-STYLE DRESS.

THE
TRAGEDY OF KOREA

BY

F. A. MCKENZIE

AUTHOR OF "THE UNVEILED EAST," "FROM TOKYO
TO TIFLIS," ETC.

WITH TWENTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS

112600

E. P. DUTTON & CO.
31 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET
NEW YORK

UNWIN BROTHERS, LIMITED, THE GRESHAM PRESS, WOKING AND LONDON.

7/27/28
R. A. Thomas
Donor
\$2.00 Est.

95-1.9
M 15-6 T

PREFACE

I HAVE to tell the story of the awakening and the destruction of a nation. My narrative, save for a few introductory pages, covers a period of less than thirty years, and the greater part of it has to do with events that have happened since King Edward came to the throne. The brief and tragic history of modern Korea has been linked to great international developments. It gave excuse for the opening moves of what promises to be the main world-conflict of the twentieth century—the struggle between an aroused China and an ambitious Japan. It afforded a reason for the Mikado's declaration of war against Russia. It supplies us to-day with a touchstone by which we can test the sincerity of the Japanese professions of justice, peace, and fair play.

No unbiassed observer can deny that Korea owes the loss of her independence mainly to the corruption and weakness of her old national administration. It is equally true that the Japanese policy on the peninsula has been made more difficult by the intrigues and obstinacy of the old Court party. Yet, when all hindrances have been allowed for,

112600

those of us who have witnessed the acts following the Japanese occupation of the land own to a sense of grievous disappointment. Affairs have now reached a stage when there comes a question of the duty of the British people in the matter. I, for one, am convinced that we owe it to ourselves and to our ally, Japan, to let it be clearly known that a policy of Imperial expansion based upon breaches of solemn treaty obligations to a weaker nation, and built up by odious cruelty, by needless slaughter, and by a wholesale theft of the private property rights of a dependent and defenceless peasantry, is repugnant to our instincts and cannot fail to rob the nation that is doing it of much of that respect and goodwill with which we all so recently regarded her.

Many of the doings related in this book came under my own purview: some chapters, more particularly the description of the scenes in the rebellion of 1907, are direct individual narrative. Wherever possible, I have elected to support my own account and conclusions by the evidence of other witnesses. In the case of the recent rebellion, my readers must rely mainly on my personal observations, as I was, at the time when I made my journey, the only white man to have travelled through those districts during the fighting. I am indebted to many who played a prominent part in the events here recorded for their kind and generous assistance and advice.

F. A. MCKENZIE.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
CHAPTER I	
THE HERMIT KINGDOM	I
CHAPTER II	
QUEEN <i>V.</i> REGENT	13
CHAPTER III	
THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNER	25
CHAPTER IV	
THE CHINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT	37
CHAPTER V	
THE MURDER OF THE QUEEN	51

viii THE TRAGEDY OF KOREA

CHAPTER VI		PAGE
AFTER THE MURDER		67

CHAPTER VII		
THE ESCAPE OF THE KING		76

CHAPTER VIII		
THE RUSSIAN <i>RÉGIME</i>		89

CHAPTER IX		
THE RE-ENTRY OF JAPAN		98

CHAPTER X		
THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW ERA		108

CHAPTER XI		
TREATY-MAKING AND TREATY-BREAKING		130

CHAPTER XII		
THE RULE OF PRINCE ITO		142

CHAPTER XIII		
THE ABDICATION OF YI HYEUNG		156

CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER XIV

	PAGE
THE CROWNING OF THE PUPPET EMPEROR	163

CHAPTER XV

A JOURNEY TO THE "RIGHTEOUS ARMY"	168
---	-----

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN	185
------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUINS OF CHEE-CHONG	191
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVIII

WITH THE REBELS	197
---------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIX

THE SUPPRESSION OF FOREIGN CRITICISM	209
--	-----

CHAPTER XX

THE PROSPECTS FOR FOREIGN TRADE	241
---	-----

CHAPTER XXI

THE WIDER VIEW	250
--------------------------	-----

APPENDICES

1. THE TRIAL OF VISCOUNT MIURA	263
2. TREATIES RELATING TO KOREA	269
Japan-Korean, 1876.	
American-Korean, 1882-3.	
British-Korean, 1883.	
Convention between China and Japan, 1885.	
Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895.	
Russo-Japanese Agreement, 1896.	
Anglo-Japanese Alliances.	
Korea at the Portsmouth Conference.	
Japan-Korean Treaties, 1904-7.	
3. PETITION FROM THE KOREANS OF HAWAII	311

ILLUSTRATIONS

A KOREAN IN OLD-STYLE DRESS	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
A VILLAGE IDOL	11
GESANG, THE GEISHA OF KOREA	29
JAPANESE INFANTRY ON THE WARPATH	39
A GATEWAY OF CHONG-JU	50
THE COURTYARD OF THE OLD PALACE IN SEOUL, FORSAKEN AFTER THE MURDER OF THE QUEEN; WITH WEEDS GROWING BETWEEN THE STONES	70
THE AUTHOR'S "NUMBER ONE BOY," WITH WIFE AND CHILD	82
SOLDIERS OF THE OLD KOREAN ARMY, AROUND THE PALACE, SEOUL	86
THE PASSING OF THE OLD—A RUINED GATEWAY IN SOUTH- EASTERN KOREA	98
JAPANESE TROOPS DETRAINING TO ATTACK KOREAN REBELS .	104
THE APPEAL TO THE CROSS, YAN-GUN	114
PUNISHMENT IN KOREA UNDER THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRA- TION; PRISONERS—MEN AND A WOMAN—OUT OF ONE CELL, PING-YANG	118

	FACING PAGE
PUNISHMENT IN KOREA UNDER THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION ; PRISONERS IN SUN-CHON	120
PRINCE ITO	142
A JAPANESE RAILWAY GUARD ON THE SEOUL-FUSAN LINE .	150
THE EX-EMPEROR, EMPEROR AND CROWN PRINCE OF KOREA, WITH PALACE EUNUCHS	156
AN OUTPOST OF KOREAN REBELS	172
THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN—THE REMAINS OF A VILLAGE INN	182
IN THE WAKE OF THE JAPANESE ARMY—A BURNT-OUT TOWN OF KOREA	188
THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN—A MOTHER MOURNING HER TEN-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER SHOT BY THE JAPANESE SOLDIERS	193
THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN—THE CHIEF THOROUGHFARE OF CHEE-CHONG BURNT DOWN BY THE JAPANESE TROOPS	194
VILLAGE DESTROYED BY THE JAPANESE ARMY	198
A COMPANY OF KOREAN REBELS	206
MR. E. T. BETHELL, EDITOR OF THE <i>KOREA DAILY NEWS</i>	212
JOURNALISM IN KOREA—A GROUP OF SUB-EDITORS	220
JOURNALISM IN KOREA—THE COMPOSITORS' ROOM OF A DAILY PAPER	230
JAPANESE INFANTRY OUT AGAINST KOREANS	244

CHAPTER I

THE HERMIT KINGDOM

LATE in the seventies, when Peking was still the city of mystery, one annual event never failed to arrest the attention of Europeans there. During the winter months a large party of strangers would arrive, men of odd dress and unfamiliar speech. Their long, thickly padded robes were tied with short strings, not buttoned like the Chinese, and their outer garment was parted in the middle, instead of the Chinese style, on the right hand. Their dress resembled that of the Peking folk before the Tartars had come, many centuries earlier, and they took off their shoes on entering a room, like the Japanese. They wore extraordinary hats, often of gigantic size, made of horse-hair or of bamboo, and their hair was tied in a knot on the top of their heads. They were dark-skinned, flat-nosed, and black-eyed, and yet there was a strange suggestion of the Caucasian in their Mongol countenances.

The visitors, who never exceeded two hundred in number, were the ambassadors, tribute-bearers, and traders from Chosen, the Hermit Kingdom.

The three chiefs, with their three right-hand men, entered into the very heart of the Forbidden City, paid their dues to the Emperor, kow-towed, and were entertained at an official dinner. The traders sold their ginseng—most famed of all Eastern sudorifics—their brassware, and their rolls of oiled paper. Europeans often tried to hold intercourse with them, but without much success. At the end of forty days, the embassy and its followers returned, back over the great Peking road, where splendid towers had been built centuries since to mark their annual march—back over the high pass of Motienling, where the world seemed stretched out beneath their feet, past the line of stakes, built to separate China from its neighbour, under the shadow of the now decaying cities of refuge, and through the dreaded bandit belt of the Yalu. Then they were swallowed up again in the darkness and mystery of their own land.

At that time, less than thirty years ago, Chosen, now known as Korea, was a country that still resolutely shut itself off from the outside world. Its land borders to the north had for centuries been edged by a lawless region, where bandits were allowed to live without molestation, and through which ordinary travellers could not pass. Even Chinamen who crossed the river Yalu were quickly decapitated by the stern yangbans on the Korean side. Its long, rocky, and forbidding coast line was carefully avoided by most foreign ships. Now and then an exploring navigator might call at a point of the coast, only to be met by a dignified repulse.

In the seventeenth century two or three dozen Dutch sailors were wrecked at different times on the Korean shores. Some of them were compelled to spend the remainder of their lives there. Others escaped, and among them was one Hendrick Hamel, who wrote a book on the country which gave very little information. Du Halde, the great geographer of the eighteenth century, described the people of Korea as "generally well made and of sweet and tractable disposition; they understand the Chinese language, delight in learning, and are given to music and dancing." He further told that their manners were "so well regulated that theft and adultery were crimes unknown among them, so that there was no occasion to shut street doors in the night; and although the revolutions, which are fatal to all States, may have somewhat changed this former innocence, yet they have still enough of it left to be a pattern to other nations."

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, some Korean literary men and officials came under the influence of the Catholic missionaries at Peking, and started a campaign for the conversion of Korea. They obtained considerable success, and quickly aroused bitter official opposition and persecution. Many of their converts were tortured and put to death, but the faith continued to spread secretly. A French missionary tried, in the bravest manner, to force his way into Korea. He penetrated the bandit lands north of Chosen in the depth of winter, crossed the Yalu on the ice, crawled into the town of Wi-ju through a drainage hole in the wall, and

reached Seoul on horseback. Others followed him, and the story of their perils and adventures is one of the most romantic in the annals of travel. Sometimes the missionaries entered by small boats from China, sometimes overland. They had endless disguises, an elaborate secret post, and many ways of escaping detection. A priest would be known by different names in different places; he would sleep by day and travel by night; he was now a beggar, now a pedlar, and now a high official in mourning garb. The French priests and their converts had the sword ever hanging over them. Once, after the authorities had attacked and killed a number of their converts, the French bishop, Imbert, and two of his comrades came out and surrendered themselves, to avoid further bloodshed. They were imprisoned and tortured in the most diabolical fashion. As a preliminary, they were given each sixty-six strokes with a paddle, a punishment that alone would have killed many men. On the day of execution they were taken out to the decapitation ground, and there publicly tormented in a way impossible to describe in full, before being killed.

Imbert died in 1839; Ferreol was consecrated as his successor in 1843. Ferreol dared everything, and forced his way into the land. Others followed him. By 1860, the native Christians numbered not far short of twenty thousand. Then a fresh persecution began, more formidable than the first. The Church was apparently stamped out, only three missionaries escaping, while fourteen, mainly Frenchmen, were slain.

This last persecution led to political action. The French Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, M. de Bellonet, informed the Chinese Government, in very emphatic and boastful language, that the French Emperor had decided to punish the King of Korea for illtreating and killing the missionaries. "The government of His Majesty," wrote M. de Bellonet to Prince Kung, "cannot permit so bloody an outrage to be unpunished. The same day on which the King of Korea laid his hands upon my unhappy countrymen was the last of his reign; he himself proclaimed its end, which I, in turn, solemnly declare to-day. In a few days our military forces are to march to the conquest of Korea, and the Emperor, my august Sovereign, alone has now the right and the power to dispose, according to his good pleasure, of the country and the vacant throne."

Seven French vessels, with a thousand troops, arrived at the Han river, and attacked the forts on the Kangwha island. Then the troops landed on the shore, and advanced against the walls of the town of Kangwha. As they approached, a number of natives opened on them from behind the walls with fire guns, bows and arrows, jingals, and ancient matchlocks. The French troops stormed the city, swept the natives on one side, and burnt the place to the ground. Then they attempted to push their success further. The Koreans met them by trickery and delay. One expeditionary force of 160 men that set out from the fleet against a more distant fortress was surprised and largely destroyed. The French were harried by constantly increasing armies

of natives, who hung around their flanks whenever they moved. At the end of a few days the French Admiral ordered his troops to embark, and the expedition returned to China.

A country thus unknown could not fail to be the centre of many marvels. It was stated that in Korea the horses were 3 feet high; that there were fowls with tails 3 feet long, that the tombs of the kings were made of silver and gold, and the bodies of the dead studded with precious stones; and that there were hills of silver and mineral resources of fabulous value. These stories naturally served to excite the cupidity of shady cosmopolitan adventurers around Shanghai. At least two buccaneering expeditions were started against the country, and one of them ended in tragedy. In 1866 an American schooner, the *General Sherman*, whose crew consisted of Captain Preston, three Americans, an Englishman, and nineteen Malay and Chinese sailors, left Tientsin for Korea. She was loaded with guns, powder, and contraband articles, and was said to be despatched for the purpose of plundering the royal tombs at Ping-yang. The ship entered the Tai Tong river, and was there ordered to stop by local authorities. Its visit roused great excitement, as it was believed to be made in connection with the French Catholics, against whom the Government was then in full opposition. The Regent of Korea, the Tai Won Kun, sent orders that the foreigners were not to be allowed to land, and that they were either to be driven back or killed. The people of Ping-yang prepared for war. Their weapons were

primitive. They had the fire-arrow or wha-jun, which was said to be able to shoot 800 feet and then explode with considerable force. The soldiers dressed themselves in their dragon cloud armour, cloth of many folds reputedly impervious to bullets. The bowmen were paraded, and some old style cannon brought out. Parties of Koreans on either banks of the river opened fire on the ship's crew, and for four days an intermittent duel was maintained. The ship's guns did considerable execution, but for every Korean killed there were a dozen to step into his place. Being ignorant of the navigation of the river, Captain Preston ran his ship on the banks and was unable to float it off.

After some days' fighting, the Koreans had accomplished very little. Their archers and soldiers would not approach the ship near enough to do much damage, and they soon refused to expose themselves to certain death from gun fire. An ancient armoured float was brought into play, the tortoise boat, a scow mounted with cannon and protected by a covering of sheet iron and bull hide. The front part of the armour lifted when the shot was fired and closed immediately afterwards. Even the tortoise boat failed to injure the foreign ship. Then a drill-sergeant—Pak by name—made himself for ever famous by proposing another plan. He fastened three scows together, piled them with brushwood, and sprinkled the wood with sulphur and saltpetre. The scows were secured by cords, were set alight, and then sent down the river towards the *General Sherman*. One failed to do

any damage. A second trio was prepared, but the now fearful crew of the American ship managed to keep it off when it approached them. Then came a third trio of burning boats, and this set the *General Sherman* on fire.

The crew were almost suffocated by the stench and vapour of the burning sulphur and saltpetre. They tried in vain to put out the flames, and as the smoke grew thicker and thicker they were forced one by one to jump into the water. They were seized by the Korean soldiers, now hurrying up in boats. Some of the invaders had white flags, which they waved wildly but waved in vain. Most of them were hacked to pieces before they reached the shore. Others were brought to land, where they tried by friendly smiles and soft words to win the goodwill of the people. But they were not allowed many minutes to live. They were pinioned and then cut down, mutilated in abominable fashion, and the bodies torn to bits. Parts were taken off to be used as medicine, and the remainder burnt. The *General Sherman* itself was consumed by flame to the water's edge. The anchor chains were rescued from the river, dragged in triumph to the south gate of the city of Ping-yang, and hung high as a warning to all men of the fate awaiting those who would dare to disturb the peace of the Land of the Morning Calm. When I last visited Ping-yang, they were hanging there still.

A French missionary priest, M. Feron, who had been driven from Korea in the great persecution, planned another expedition with one Ernest Oppert,

a Hamburg Jew. Feron knew that the Regent laid great store upon the possession of some old relics, which had been in his family for many years, and which were now buried in one of the royal tombs. He thought that if these relics were seized the Regent would consent to abandon his persecution of the Christians in order to have them returned. Oppert, probably fired by the stories of the wealth to be had in the tombs, fell in with his scheme. He was accompanied by an American named Jenkins, a fighting crew of 120 Chinese and Malays, and a few European wastrels. They left Shanghai in the *China*, on April 30, 1867, landed near the capital and made for the tomb. The people at first fled from them. They cleared away a heavy mound of earth over the sarcophagus, only to find that the coffin itself was covered with strong granite slabs which they were unable to move. Thanks to a heavy fog, they were able to work for a time before their purpose was discovered, but soon they were surrounded by a crowd, which began stoning them. The crew threatened to retire and leave their leaders to the mercy of the Koreans. Oppert and his party regained their ship with slight loss of life. Later on the American, Jenkins, was brought to trial before the American Consular Court at Shanghai, but escaped owing to lack of legal proof. Oppert himself afterwards published a full account of his expedition in volume form. He admitted that his purpose was plunder, but justified himself by the plea that by securing the relics in the royal tomb he and his companions would have

been able to obtain safety for the Roman Catholic converts in the country.

When the news of the loss of the *General Sherman* reached Shanghai, the American Admiral there ordered Captain Shufeldt, Commander of the *Wachusett* to proceed to Korea and obtain redress. Shufeldt mistook the line of coast, which was unsurveyed, and anchored in a small inlet about thirty miles north of the entrance to the Han river, the approach to Seoul. In an account given by himself sometime afterwards Shufeldt said :—

“ From this point I addressed a letter to the King of Korea, asking him the reasons for the destruction of the *General Sherman* and the murder of the crew, and expressing my surprise at the barbarism of the act, particularly as I knew that on the previous occasion of the shipwreck of an American vessel the King of Korea had transported the crew with all their effects, with great care, to the boundary of China, where they safely reached their own country. After some days' delay, we succeeded in getting the official of the village before mentioned to send this letter to the Governor of the Province, with the request that it might be forwarded to the capital of Korea.

“ After remaining at our anchorage for ten or fifteen days from the despatch of the courier, finding the ship was gradually being frozen in, and apprehending that we might not be able to get out until the spring, by which time our provisions would have been exhausted, I determined



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

A VILLAGE IDOL.

to leave without waiting longer for a reply, with the intention, however, of returning later in the season after reprovioning."

Events occurred to prevent Captain Shufeldt from carrying out his original intention, but the full reply to his letter, which was received later, convinced Americans that the attack on the *General Sherman* was made under strong provocation. However, in 1871, the American Minister at Peking, Mr. Low, directed Admiral Rodgers to proceed to Korea and attack the defences at the mouth of the Han river, as a reprisal for Captain Preston's death. The attempt was no more glorious than that of the French. The Americans were able, by their superior weapons, to slaughter a considerable number of Koreans. The latter fought with great valour, as the invaders themselves admitted. After a spell of aimless and needless destruction the invaders withdrew.

All this time greater forces were making for the opening of the country. The Korean Government was seriously alarmed by the advance of Russia to the north, and by the fact that General Ignatieff's brilliant statesmanship had secured the Usuri provinces for Russia. In Korea itself two great parties, that of the King and that of the Regent, were fighting for supremacy, just as a little time before the adherents of the Emperor and the Tycoon had been struggling in Japan. The King, who year by year was becoming more powerful, was inclined to favour the admission of foreigners. The Regent was opposed to it. China

had for long refused to admit that she could control Korea in any way, but now, driven by various reasons, Li Hung Chang began to use his undoubted authority in favour of breaking down the barriers. Last, and greatest of all, a new Far Eastern power had arisen that would not brook denial. New Japan was revealing herself, strong, modern, and resolute. The Japanese Government, still struggling with mediævalism and reaction at home, found time to send its agents to Seoul. These agents secured admission where Europeans could not. Able to make themselves understood, familiar with all the tricks and wiles of Oriental statesmanship, learned in Chinese courtesy, they were not to be repulsed. They came, backed by gunboats. In 1876 General Kuroda and Count (then Mr.) Inouye anchored off Seoul with a fleet of two men-of-war and three transports, and announced that they were there to make a treaty or to make war. In less than three weeks a treaty was concluded. In this treaty Japan admitted that Korea was an independent state, enjoying the same sovereign rights as itself. Intercourse was henceforth to be carried on "in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or the manifestation of suspicion." Japan was granted the right to have an establishment at Fusan; various ports were opened to Japanese trade, and a Japanese officer was to reside at each of the open ports for the protection of his nationals.

CHAPTER II

QUEEN V. REGENT

THE Japanese quickly planted their outposts throughout the country. Mr. Hanabusa, their representative, established a Legation outside the west gate of Seoul. Settlements were made at Gensan and Fusan, and a number of enterprising Japanese traders settled at those places. Over a hundred Koreans were sent to China and Japan to study foreign affairs.

At this time Korea was torn asunder by acute dissensions in the royal house. For many years, up to 1873, the regent, the Tai Won Kun, had ruled during the minority of the King, his son. The King had been adopted by the previous monarch, and had succeeded him. The Tai Won Kun was without question one of the most remarkable characters of his day in the Far East. About 5 feet 6 inches high, erect and vigorous, with grey, wonderfully bright and clear eyes, he looked what he was, a real leader of men. In the first days of his rule, he took up a strong line for the maintenance of the kingly power against that of the nobles. He was a resolute opponent of foreigners, and it was under him that

the worst persecutions of the Roman Catholics had taken place. In 1871 he had tablets erected in the city of Seoul, calling on the people to drive out foreigners:—

“The barbarians beyond the sea have violated our waters, and invaded our land. If we do not fight we must make treaties with them. Those who are in favour of making a treaty, sell their country.

“Let this be a warning to ten thousand generations.”

Absolutely without scruple, and indifferent to his methods so long as he succeeded in the end, the Regent for many years carried on his successful warfare against foreigners on the one hand, and the nobles on the other. To defeat the foreigners should they attempt to land, he raised regiments, clad them in bullet-proof armour, consisting of seventy-two thicknesses of cotton cloth, armed them with the weirdest weapons, and cast cannon from bells for their artillery. To break the power of the nobles he removed many of their privileges of dress and of freedom from taxation. The common man was allowed to wear black shoes, hitherto a privilege of the highest. The enormous size of ancient hat brim was cut down. Rich and poor were ordered to reduce the volume of their sleeves. High offices of state were thrown open to the capable, whether born nobles or commoners. In place after place the Regent built magnificent palaces, a mania later on adopted by his son, the King, for it is a tradition in Korea that when the monarch ceases building his reign comes to an end.

After the King had emerged from his minority, the Regent still attempted to be the real ruler. He was given the title of "Great Elder," and at first he remained the power behind the throne. This was not to continue long, for a new force was arising in the state. The King himself, a weak, good-natured, and kindly man, had married a daughter of the Ming family. After she had given birth to a son, the authority of the Queen grew daily. She was, in her way, as resolute a character as the Regent himself, and soon the fiercest of fights were raging between the two. The Queen's brother, Ming-Seung-ho, became Prime Minister, and the Regent was gradually robbed of his offices. The Tai Won Kun was not to be so easily brushed aside. He set on foot a thousand schemes of agitation. Mysterious risings began in the provinces, and long complaints of bad government poured in on the rulers. One day a side of the Queen's bedroom was blown to pieces, and it was whispered from man to man that one of the Regent's servants had put a charge of gunpowder there. On another day, the Prime Minister was offering sacrifice to his ancestors, when he received a box, seemingly from the palace. His family, wondering what great honour this was that had been sent to him, pressed round to see the contents. As the box was opened, it exploded. It was an infernal machine, and the Prime Minister's mother and his son were killed. The box had come from the Tai Won Kun.

The conclusion of a treaty with the Japanese was made in opposition to the Regent's advice, and he at

once used this as a weapon of attack against the Queen. Literary men were sent about the country to whisper of the sufferings these foreigners would undoubtedly bring upon the nation. "If we admit the Japanese," said one to the other, "we must admit the white men, and if we admit the white men we must adopt their wicked faith."

The Tai Won Kun's great opportunity did not arrive until the year 1882. Negotiations were rapidly proceeding at this time for closer relations with white Powers, and in the month of May a treaty was signed at Chemulpho between Korea and the United States, by which the country was opened to Americans. That summer a great drought fell on the land; crops failed, Government funds were exhausted, soldiers and civil servants were without pay, and food was scarce. "It is the anger of heaven against us," the people said in whispers. "We have admitted foreigners, and this is the result." The agents of the Regent were busy everywhere, and on the evening of the 23rd of July a mob, led by them, attacked the King's chief ministers in their homes and hacked them to bits. They then proceeded to the palace itself. The soldiers and the mob were one, and a cry went up from all to destroy their ruler. The King escaped as though by a miracle, and the mob gazed on what they thought was the dead body of the Queen. Every one knew that she was to have been poisoned by the Regent's order, but she had heard of what was coming and had prepared. A female attendant was poisoned in her place, she slipped out of her rooms, and one of

10-55

her household servants took her on his back and made his way through the furious crowds to a place of safety. Man after man stopped them demanding to know who he was, whom he was carrying, and where he was going. His reply always was that he was a minor official taking his sister out of the trouble. She went to a private house in the city, and from there she was carried in a chair into the country. One of her chair bearers was a humble water carrier, Yi Yong Ik by name, who acted very courageously in smuggling her away. That day he laid the foundation of his fortunes. Within twenty years he was serving his King and country as Prime Minister.

While a section of the rioters was running amok in the palace, another party attacked the Japanese. Isolated Japanese who were found in the streets were at once murdered. A great crowd threw itself against the Japanese Legation, but was repulsed time after time by the steady fire of the Minister and his assistants. Then some Koreans set fire to the building, and the Japanese had to quit it to escape the flames. They kept together, and fought their way through the city to the palace, where they demanded shelter. The General in charge shut the gates more securely and ordered them off. By this time, happily for them, darkness was coming on, and they made their way out of Seoul down to the river, and on to Chemulpho. They were again attacked on the road, and five of them were killed. At Chemulpho they put out to sea in a fishing boat, were rescued next day by a British surveying ship, the *Flying Fish*, and were taken home.

✓ 5.00

A cry went up in Japan for instant vengeance against the Koreans. Volunteers from every part of the country clamoured to be allowed to go and fight these barbarians, and public subscriptions were raised, in which foreign merchants joined with the islanders. The Japanese Government, however, adopted a more conciliatory line. Mr. Hanabusa was sent back to Seoul in August with a considerable armed escort, to demand redress. China, recognising that unless she acted now she must ever forfeit her claim to a suzerainty over the country, despatched a force of 4,000 men to put down the rioting. The Queen, from her country home, had sent strong representations to Peking demanding protection, and pointing to the Regent as the guilty party. The Regent himself, seeing that his plan had miscarried, was foremost among the apologists for the outbreak. He assured Mr. Hanabusa that it had occurred despite his strong efforts to prevent it, and that it was nothing but the work of crowds of ignorant and misinformed peasants and soldiers.

The Chinese Generals took command of the city. The Japanese were promised a heavy indemnity, a new Legation, and greater facilities for trade and travel. The Chinese troops arrested over a hundred men, executed the leaders with every accompaniment of degradation and shame, exposed their mangled heads on the city walls, and threw their tortured bodies on the dunghoops for the dogs to eat. The Regent himself was not allowed to go free. He was invited to a banquet at the Chinese camp. As soon as he arrived he was seized, sent down to the coast,

and put on board a Chinese vessel. While his waiting attendants and his armed men were yawningly wondering when the feast would finish, he was already on his way to China. There Li Hung Chang sent him as a prisoner to Paotingfu, where he was kept for several years, but even at Paotingfu he managed in one way and another to continue his plotting against the throne.

The attack on the Japanese Legation and the intervention of China raised a question that was later to be settled by the Chino-Japanese war. Centuries before this, both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over Korea. Japan had perforce been obliged to abandon her claims in the face of her stronger rival. But the Japanese Government was by no means willing now to permit China to increase her authority at the Seoul Court. For a time there was considerable danger of war between the two Powers, but the Japanese Government, following its uniform policy, submitted for the moment, and gathered strength to strike a real blow in the early future.

The Queen returned to the palace, her power more fully established than ever before. The King, following the custom of his ancestors, issued a public proclamation, which is still of great interest to those who would follow the working of the national mind :—

“For 500 years we have carefully guarded our coasts to prevent intercourse with foreigners, therefore we have seen and heard but little of other people. In Europe and America many wonderful things have been invented; they are all wealthy countries, their railways and steamers are all over

the world, they compete with each other in the perfection of their armies, and are honest in all their dealings with each other. Formerly China was the first of all nations, but now these kingdoms are her equal, and she has made treaties of friendship with them. Even Japan, on the extreme edge of the sea, has entered into commercial relationship with these countries. In the year Ping-tsz (1876), my kingdom made a treaty with Japan by which three ports were opened to them, and now, contrary to our ancient customs, I am about to make treaties with England, America, and Germany. For this change I am abused by all the scholars and people in the kingdom, yet I bear it patiently, knowing there is nothing to be ashamed of. Our intercourse with these countries will be on terms of equality, and you have no reason to be grieved if we permit foreigners to dwell in our kingdom.

“History proves that from ancient times it has been the custom of nations to trade with each other, yet you stupid literati consider this is an evil custom, and wish me to keep aloof from all other nations. Why do you not consider that if when foreigners come as friends we call out our soldiers and drive them away, we shall make enemies of all the people under heaven; we shall stand alone without a friend while all other countries are bound together, and if they send their armies against us we shall certainly be defeated?”

“You say that if we admit foreigners into our country we must of necessity admit their false religion also. But we can be friendly without accepting their

religion. We could treat them according to the rules of international law, but must not allow them to preach their doctrines. Hitherto, you have only read the books of Confucius and Mencius, and their doctrines are so firmly rooted in your hearts, that even if the foreigners should attempt to propagate their religion, it is impossible for you to be influenced thereby. If some stupid, empty-headed people should learn and believe the foreign doctrines, we have an unalterable law by which they must die and may not be pardoned, so that it will be easy to get rid of that religion. The foreign religion is wicked and sensual, but consider how greatly our people will be benefited by learning their arts and manufactures. Their methods of agriculture, medicine, and surgery, their carriages, steamers, guns, &c are all excellent, and why should not we learn of them? To learn their trades is one thing, to learn their religion is another. Foreign countries are strong, we are weak, so unless we learn their ways how can we stand against them? If we can reform our home affairs and besides be on friendly terms with outside kingdoms, we shall soon be as strong and wealthy as other nations. I desire the prosperity of my kingdom as much as you do, but that affair in the sixth moon (massacre of Japanese), has placed me in a difficult position. That was a treacherous breach of the treaty, and has brought upon us the scorn of the whole world. Our kingdom was in danger, our peace disturbed, and we have to pay a heavy indemnity. This affair is now settled, and we are about to make treaties with America, England,

Germany. This is in accordance with ancient customs, and is not to be looked upon with suspicion as an innovation, so let your minds be at peace, and let every man attend to his own affairs. When foreigners come, treat them with respect; if they ill-use you I will see to that, for I will not favour them more than my own subjects.

“If the common people speak evil of those in authority, they ought by law to be put to death, but if I punished you without first giving you warning, I should not be acting justly. We have now become friendly with Western nations, and the stone tablet outside the city gate forbidding the approach of foreigners must be removed, &c.

THE KING OF CHAO-SIEN
COMMANDS THE RULERS AND PEOPLE.”

The uprisings did not prevent the broadening of intercourse with foreign nations. Both China and Korea were already becoming alarmed at the steady growth of Japanese activity. Li Hung Chang wrote a very remarkable warning to Korean officials on this matter, a warning of peculiar significance in view of later developments:—

“Of late years Japan has adopted Western customs. . . . Her national liabilities having largely increased, she is casting her eyes about in search of some convenient acquisition which may recoup her. . . . The fate of Loochoo is at once a warning and a regret to both China and Korea. . . . Her aggressive designs upon Korea will be best frustrated by the latter’s alliance with Western nations.”

The treaty with the United States, signed on May 22, 1882, by Commodore Shufeldt and two members of the Korean Cabinet, provided for the opening up of intercourse between the two nations, for the appointment of diplomatic representatives and consuls, for the establishment of extra-territorial rights for American citizens, and for a tariff of not exceeding 10 per cent., *ad valorem*, on articles of daily use, and not exceeding 30 per cent. on articles of luxury. American citizens were given the right to live at the open ports. There was one clause in this treaty to which the Koreans attributed, as it afterwards appeared, excessive importance. Korea was guaranteed protection against hostile Powers:—

“If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert her good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing her friendly feelings.”

It was a paper promise, and, so far as America was concerned, not worth the paper it was written on. This was proved later.

The same year Admiral Willes and Mr. W. G. Aston arranged a British treaty, but the Home Government refused to ratify it, objecting to some of its provisions.

Sir Harry Parkes was sent to Korea a few months later, armed with special powers, and accompanied by Mr. Aston, Mr. (now Sir Walter) Hillier, and Mr. C. T. Maude. “After a good deal of hard labour and trials of temper and patience” (to quote

his own words)¹ a satisfactory British-Korean treaty was signed, in which the rights of British subjects to trade and to the jurisdiction of their own courts were specifically laid down. The British treaty was a striking example of unequivocal draughtsmanship, and Sir Harry Parkes's experiences in Japan and China here stood him in good stead. Other European Powers also secured treaty rights.

¹ "Life of Sir Harry Parkes," vol. ii. p. 205.

CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNER

“WHEN I first entered Korea,” said one of the earliest foreign residents to me, “it seemed as though I were stepping out of real life into the veritable wonderland of Alice. Everything was so fantastic, so very different from any other part of the world, so absurd, so repulsive, or so bizarre, that I had to ask myself, time after time, whether I was awake or dreaming.”

In many respects Korean institutions, as seen by Europeans and Americans when they first arrived in the country, resembled those of China some five or six hundred years back. The government was an absolute monarchy, the King being assisted by a Prime Minister, two associates, and the heads of six departments, the Lord Chamberlain's, Finance, War, Public Works, Justice, and Registration. The country was divided into eight provinces, with a governor for each, and under the governor were magistrates in charge of districts. To keep these officials in order, the King had the equivalent to the “personal representative” of the American millionaire manufacturer, secret agents who visited various

parts of the country, examining everything on the King's behalf, and reporting to him direct. The prisons were an abomination, torture was freely employed, periodical jail clearings were made by hanging scores of prisoners at a time, and justice was bought and sold. The two main curses of the Government were the farming of taxes and the granting of concessions at the cost of the common people. Under the farming of taxes, the governor or the magistrate was given a free hand to collect as much as he could, and he made his profit according to the amount he could squeeze out of the people above the sum required by the central government. Any man who was sufficiently prosperous became at once the victim of magisterial zeal. The magistrate would come to the farmer who had been cursed with a specially good crop and beg a loan. If the man refused, he would promptly be imprisoned, half starved, and beaten once or twice a day until he consented. There were good magistrates and bad, but generally the power of the yamen was dreaded by every working man. "Why do I not grow bigger crops and cultivate more fields?" a Korean farmer once asked me. "Why should I? Bigger crops means greater extortion from the governor." The power of the magistrates was modified by the unwritten right of rebellion, and by direct appeal to the King. When the governor became too greedy the people would rise up and kill him, and the central authorities would think that justice had been done. There can be no doubt that under this system individual enterprise was

severely limited ; no man had any real incentive to special industry.

The granting of concessions to nobles was another burden on the people. A noble, a yangban, considered that he had a right to live off the working classes. When the younger son of a great man grew up, his father would ask the king for a concession. Maybe this would be the right to charge so much to every man who crossed a certain ford, or the right to impose a tax in some special district. The concessionaire would give the nation practically no services in return. This may seem amazing to Western readers, but we would do well to curb our indignation over it. Let us recall the privileges granted to certain lords of the manor in England, over-lords of commons around which towns have been built. The man who wishes to run a drain under the common, or to open out a fresh doorway from his house, edging the common, on to the open space, finds substantial payment promptly levied. The principle, that of possessing the right to make charges on the community without rendering an equivalent service, is the same in each case.

Life in the capital was relieved from tedium by notices in the *Daily Gazette* like these :—

“His Majesty orders that Kwon Ik Sang, and Song Choung Soup (both being descendants of renowned patriots) be given a musical instrument each, to be played at the head of their processions on the streets in honour of their successes at the recent civil examinations.”

“His Majesty announces that ‘inasmuch as our

Queen Dowager is getting old, and inasmuch as it will soon be fifty years since she became Queen, I will present to her the proper congratulations and some garments on the next New Year's day.'"

For the first few years, the majority of foreigners who entered Korea confined themselves to the open ports of Fusan and Chemulpho, and to the city of Seoul, the capital. In these places they saw Korea at its very worst. In Seoul, in particular, great armies of hangers-on attached to the nobles and the Court gave an impression of laziness, of dirt, and of worthlessness which was not borne out in the rural districts. Seoul itself presented a fantastic picture. The King and Queen ruled in the great palace underneath the shadow of the mountain. Acres and acres of low, one-storied buildings, surrounded by great courtyards and high walls, were filled with retainers. There was the famed dancing hall, supported by many pillars, and rising above a wonderful lake, where the King was amused by his gesang—the geisha of Korea. There were at least 4,000 palace attendants and officials, eunuchs, sorcerers, and soothsayers, and hangers-on of every kind. These sorcerers—a guild of the blind—were a power in the land. They formed a strong clan, and men looked with dread on them as they walked through the streets in pairs, tapping with long sticks as they felt their way, their sightless eyes staring into vacancy.

Seoul, planted in an ideal situation, surrounded by high hills, and with healthy climate, was remarkable among Eastern capitals in that it did not contain a



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

GESANG, THE GEISHA OF KOREA.

single temple where religious worship was carried on. Generations before, the Buddhist priests had been forbidden to settle within the city limits. The Koreans were a singularly non-religious people, their main faith being fear of demons.

The women of the better class lived absolutely secluded lives, and regarded the strictness of their seclusion as proof of the esteem of their husbands. The women of the lower classes worked hard, in many cases supporting their families. They wore an extraordinary dress, by which the breasts are freely exposed, and the chest above the breast carefully covered. Although the women were kept in subservience, the morality of the country was, on the whole, good, and would certainly bear very favourable comparison with that of Japan.

The streets of Seoul displayed strange sides of life. Now a high official would come along carried in a sedan chair, preceded by self-important underlings who would shout to the crowds to clear the way for him. Now a man would walk slowly along dressed in cream-coloured garments, with a monster hat, largely shutting his face from view, and holding a fan in front of him. He was a mourner. Under Korean etiquette, mourning was a most severe tax on a man. For months, or years, after the death of near relatives he had to keep himself out of sight of his fellows, and cut off his usual work. Sedan chairs, closely shut, containing ladies of high position, would pass in constant succession. Ordinary men walking to and fro were all attired in long white garments, and all wore top-knots. There were lines of shops filled

with mean brass wares, oiled paper and eatables, for Korea was a land with practically no manufactures. Now a party of spearsmen would move along, with thickly padded garments, their faces fiercely frowning to justify their reputation for bravery. At sunset the gates of the city were closed, and any one, were he the highest in the land, who wished to go in and out, would have to climb over the great walls that surrounded Seoul. As darkness came on, signal fires were lit high up on the great hills, Namsan and the others, four lights on four hills, telling watching signallers in distant provinces that all was well, and that Korea was at peace. An hour after sunset all men retired within doors, and the women came out. This was the women's hour, when they could parade the streets with freedom. Woe be to the unhappy male who found himself among them! Then the great bell in the centre of the city boomed forth its warning. It was curfew, and Seoul was at rest.

It is difficult, in drawing a picture of Korean life at that time, not to intensify the shadows and to exaggerate the miseries of the people. It would be hard to say anything too bad about Seoul itself, but, so far as the country people were concerned, a vast number of them lived lives of prosperity and sufficiency. I doubt if there was, proportionately, among the Korean people outside of Seoul, anything like the amount of suffering there is among the English poor to-day outside of London. There were few or no beggars in the land. There was no need of an elaborate poor-law system. The countryman owned and worked his land, and was able, save at a time of

special distress, to store up sufficient in the autumn to keep him and his for the coming twelve months. While the men of Seoul were lazy, the farmers were diligent and were good husbandmen. I have travelled through large stretches of country as well tended as prosperous European districts. The chance visitor was apt to lose all sense of proportion when witnessing the outstanding abuses and contradictions of Korean life. He saw, for instance, the strange system of digging, by which three men pulled at a shovel by a system of leverage, and accomplished less than one man alone would have done. He was revolted by the sight of the bodies of criminals decapitated and thrown in the fields for the birds and dogs to eat. He was estranged by the spectacle of an occasional tortured or beaten prisoner. The first few weeks that any foreigner spent in Korea were full of repulsion and horror. But as he came to know the people better he learnt more and more to appreciate their kindheartedness, their lack of guile, their genuine simplicity, their willingness to learn, and their many lovable and likeable qualities. This was my own experience, and in discussing Korean life with those who know it better than myself, I have learned that it was theirs. I have found the Korean a loyal friend, a faithful servant, and one who, when given the chance, is capable of much. Corruption and cruelty have, to some extent, broken his courage and weakened his determination, yet very little encouragement will induce the Korean servant to undertake the most perilous ventures. In the course of my journeys through Korea and

Manchuria, I found my Korean boys take risks and carry through enterprises at which an uneducated English lad might well hesitate. I found them serve me faithfully, loyally, and well. They have in their characters great potentialities.

The years 1883-4 marked the incoming of the foreigner on a large scale. A member of the China Customs service—Mr. von Moellendorf—was appointed to organise a Customs department on Chinese lines; an English-language school was started; orders were given abroad for thousands of breech-loading rifles, for electric-light plant, and for foreign live stock, seeds, and foods. Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. established a regular steamship line from Shanghai to Korea. A German-American started a glass factory on the Han river. Foreign gold-mining was begun, and foreign traders arrived.

Various foreign officials, military and civil, were engaged. One chief adviser, at a salary of 1,000 dollars per month, was supposed to advise the Government on foreign affairs. Americans, Frenchmen, and others were enlisted to start enterprises. These enterprises almost uniformly came to nothing. The Korean Government would commence a scheme, secure a man, and then within a few weeks slacken off. Some one would whisper in the King's ear that there was danger in the new idea, and the foreigner who arrived full of hope of accomplishing great things would find himself hopelessly handicapped. Thus, at one time, four officers, three American and one Japanese, were engaged to train, first a corps of cadets, and then a body of 4,000

troops. Money was granted for this, but the money was subjected to the pickings of innumerable palace favourites. The officers found very great difficulty in obtaining even their salaries, and the chief outcome of the enterprise was that cadets and soldiers were given new uniforms. A powder-mill was started, but it produced no powder. The troops were squeezed in every way. One serious riot in the capital was due to the fact that a high dignitary had caused sand to be mixed with the soldiers' rice, so that he might add to his profit. The one foreign department that was run with real efficiency was the Customs service. Korean officials who really desired to do well were hampered by foreign action. Thus, a Korean general in charge of some regiments took the representative of a European Government along one day to inspect his troops. "Look at these rifles," the general said. "They have been brought from abroad. There are six different varieties of them, and not one is any good. The ammunition will not fit the guns. How am I to train my men? I want to make them capable soldiers. Could you do anything with them if your contractors gave you weapons like these?"

About the middle of 1884 a new party was beginning to make its influence felt. Certain young Koreans, who had been over to Japan to study, came back as out-and-out advocates of immediate reform. They had seen what the Japanese were doing, and they wanted to do the same, or more, in Korea. They would have Westernised their land, had it been possible, by a stroke of the pen. These young men

threw themselves into the arms of the Japanese officials, and together they hatched all kinds of schemes for revolutionary changes. Opposed to them were the Chinese, who were gaining ever-increasing control of the Court. Since the Chinese Government sent over troops in the summer of 1882, it had constantly and successfully endeavoured to make its suzerainty felt. A considerable Chinese force was maintained around Seoul. One of the Chinese high officials was the famous Yuan Shih Kai, afterwards to be the maker of new China, and then general in charge of the troops.

The reformers were familiar with the old Korean method of political transformation by murder, and it is not surprising that they were not themselves above adopting it. On December 4th a new post office was opened, and a great banquet given. The leading officials and foreign representatives were there, among them Ming Yong Ik, the Prime Minister. In the course of the dinner Ming Yong Ik was called outside, and was there attacked by an assassin, who may or may not have been sent by the reform party. The banquet broke up in great confusion, and the reformers, who had been elaborately preparing for this occasion, seized the palace, laid hands on the King, and summoned the leaders of the reactionaries into their presence. As each leader came in he was attacked and killed, until eight in all had been murdered. Then the reformers, who were clearly acting in co-operation with the Japanese, made the King send for a Japanese guard. For the moment it seemed as though the Japanese and the reformers

had triumphed. But the Chinese generals now took a hand in the game. Between 2,000 and 3,000 Chinese soldiers, under Yuan Shih Kai, supported by 3,000 Koreans, attacked the palace. It was defended by 140 Japanese soldiers, who fought desperately, trying to hold the long line of the walls. It was evident that they could not drive off the great hosts against them, so in the end they fired a mine, cleared a way for themselves, and fought their way down to the sea, the reformers in their midst. As for the post office, which was the start of all the trouble, one mail was received in it. The building was then burnt, and Korean postal activity came to an end for several years.

The excited soldiers and townsmen, not content with driving off the Japanese, made an attack on the other foreigners. Several houses were burnt, the Japanese Legation was destroyed, and it seemed for a time as though all foreigners might be massacred. The American Minister and the British and German Consul-Generals retired to Chemulpho. For some weeks the country was in an uproar. Japan promptly despatched Count Inouye to Chemulpho as Ambassador, accompanied by 2,500 troops. The Chinese Ambassador crossed the Yellow Sea backed by 3,000 soldiers. Again it seemed as though Korea would bring war between Japan and China, but once more China triumphed and Japan took second place.

There can be no doubt but that the whole turmoil was due to the hasty and ill-advised action of the reformers. They tried to do too much in too short a time, and their Japanese friends, almost equally

inexperienced, hurried them on instead of keeping them in check. The outcome was bad for all. It increased the trouble between China and Japan, and it greatly strengthened the hands of the Chinese party. At that time China was still almost wholly reactionary, and hence real reform was still further delayed.

In April, 1885, the Japanese scored a point in a struggle by securing an agreement with China, which provided that both countries should withdraw their troops from Korea and should send no more there without having previously given notice to the other of their intention to do so. Such troops were merely to remain temporarily, and Korea was to be invited to raise a sufficient armed force to ensure her security, the force to be drilled by officers of a third Power.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT

JAPAN, repulsed for the moment, drew back and strengthened her forces. She had long been preparing to maintain her place by force of arms but now her efforts were redoubled. Officers were sent to Germany to study military tactics there. Foreign instructors were engaged and were used to the full. Military men and others were sent as spies to China. A new fleet was built up, and the sailor-like qualities of the Japanese fishermen were turned to the management of ironclads and the handling of guns. China, doubtful, hesitating, and wavering, moved now this way and now that. Li Hung Chang made some preparations. But the viceroys and the crowd of classic-sodden censors and officials at Peking crippled his energies. Every Chinaman was still imbued with the feeling of the superiority of his own nation, and of contempt for the little islanders. To the Chinese it seemed as incredible that the wo-jin could defeat them as a few years later it seemed absurd to the Russians that they would dare pit themselves against the might of the Czar's great Empire.

Korea was to be the scene of the first move in the world-struggle of the twentieth century. Korea slept on! Certain reforms were undertaken, it is true, or to be more exact, certain feeble attempts were made at reform. More and more foreign advisers came in, but their advice was rarely followed. Missionaries obtained a steadily growing influence and many converts, and did much good. Dr. H. M. Allen, an American missionary, opened a Government hospital, and, later on, became American Minister to Korea. Some schools were started. Commerce grew, a foreign community became established in Seoul, and there was much talk of the great things that were to be done. But Korea never once seriously tackled the question of reform. Every effort was stultified by the corruption, the weakness, and the inefficiency of the Court officials. The Chinese Government appointed a Resident, who claimed many privileges and ranked himself as far above the representatives of the white Powers.

By 1893, Japan was ready to move forward and to force on events. The Tai Won Kun had returned from his exile in 1885, and he and the Japanese authorities entered into a friendly alliance. The old Regent was now shorn of many of his former honours, and had not even authority enough to prevent the imprisonment of one of his favourite nephews. But he still could claim the loyal service of many secret adherents, and he began gradually acting through them.

A society called the Tong-haks rose up to the south of the country, and started a serious rebellion.



Photograph by]

JAPANESE INFANTRY ON THE WARPATH.

[F. A. McKenzie.

They marched towards the capital, 30,000 strong, and reached a spot within a hundred miles of Seoul. Their avowed purpose was to drive the Japanese and all foreigners out of the country, and to insist upon less tyrannical government. The common belief among foreigners in Seoul was, however, that their uprising had been fostered by the Japanese in order to force an issue with China.

In the spring of 1894, the Tong-haks, in some mysterious fashion, acquired a number of good weapons, and advanced towards Seoul, capturing town after town. Late in April, some 800 Government soldiers, backed by forty Chinese braves, set out against the rebel forces, but were defeated. The Chinese Resident, General Yuan, at once saw that the rebels could threaten the capital itself, and thus afford the Japanese a pretext for actively interfering and restoring order. He advised the King to beg for the aid of China, so that soldiers might be sent, and the rebellion put down. The King very reluctantly did this, and, on June 5th, a Chinese force of 1,500 men began to arrive at Asan, a place fifty miles away from Seoul. More troops followed, and, in the end, the Chinese soldiers there may have numbered 4,000. A notice of this was sent to the Japanese Government, as required under the Treaty of April, 1885. The Japanese Government objected to the notice on the grounds that China referred to Korea as a "vassal state," but no objection was raised at the time to the despatch of the troops.

Four days after the landing of the Chinese at Asan the Japanese Minister, Mr. Otori, arrived at

Chemulpho, with a guard of 300 sailors. It had been announced in advance that he was bringing thirty constables with him, and when the Korean Government saw the number of his escort, they made feverish endeavours to persuade him to send the sailors back. They did not succeed, and when General Yuan asked the Japanese Minister why he had landed such a force, the reply was that it was simply a guard for the protection of the Japanese in Seoul against the Tong-haks, and that it would not be retained, but would be replaced by a smaller body of soldiers. On June 13th the sailors went back, but their place was taken by 1,200 soldiers, 800 at the Legation in Seoul, 200 between Seoul and Chemulpho, and 200 at Chemulpho itself. General Yuan again protested, and was assured that the despatch of so many soldiers was a mistake. But their coming was followed by the arrival of 3,000 more.

This brought another remonstrance from Yuan, and Mr. Otori again declared that the arrival of the men was due to a misunderstanding, and that he would telegraph to have them sent back. But as it was obviously bad to keep so many men cooped up on board ship, he would land them for exercise, without their arms. Yuan agreed, whereupon the 3,000 men were landed, fully armed, and were marched up to the environs of Seoul. There were no Chinese troops whatever in Seoul at this time, the one Chinese force being at Asan. The Japanese were now also trying to induce China to co-operate with them in making Korea accept a joint scheme of internal reform.

All this time the Korean Government was imploring both sides to withdraw their troops, and was begging the foreign representatives to persuade them to do this. The foreign representatives had already been urging Yuan and Otori in this direction, and on June 25th they sent them a formal request on the subject. Yuan promptly acknowledged the receipt of the note, and telegraphed to the Grand Council at Peking for instructions. The Grand Council replied on the same night agreeing to the simultaneous withdrawal of the Chinese and Japanese forces. This fact was communicated to the remaining foreign representatives next morning. The Japanese Minister acknowledged the receipt of the note.

Mr. Otori had meanwhile been attempting to secure an audience with the King, and the King had been making all manner of excuses to delay it. Japanese troops were continuing to arrive, until their number reached about 10,000; and, on June 26th, Mr. Otori had his audience. He took up a strong attitude, and made a number of specific demands. The chief of these was that the Korean Government should clearly disavow the Chinese suzerainty once and for all.

The King expressed his amazement at the threatening tone taken by the Minister, and at the way in which he was bringing over soldiers from Japan. "Let us talk over this in a friendly fashion," he said. "But how can we be friends when your soldiers are here threatening us? Withdraw the soldiers and then we will talk." Mr. Otori bluntly

replied that the soldiers would remain until he had been granted what he wanted.

Two or three days later the First Secretary of the Legation, Mr. Sugimura, called at the Korean Foreign Office early in the morning, and demanded an instant declaration from Korea that she was not the vassal of China. He threatened that if this was not done, the Japanese troops would at once attack, drive the Chinese out of the country, and take control of everything. The President of the Foreign Office promised that the Japanese should have their way, and he showed him a draft of a note disowning responsibility for the attitude of the Chinese Government, and declaring that Korea was independent in her foreign relations and in her internal administration. With this Mr. Sugimura expressed himself as being for the moment satisfied.

The Japanese, who were now confident that they could carry all before them, went further. On July 3rd, Mr. Otori presented another series of demands. This time he asked for the appointment of a secret commission that was to be named by him and to meet at the Japanese Legation. He put forward another list of claims for exclusive privileges to be granted to Japan. Among these were railway concessions from Chemulpho to Seoul, and from Seoul to Fusan; a monopoly in gold mining for the Japanese; the opening of a new port to the south-west of Korea, and a number of financial concessions. He also asked for a reform of the Government.

The President of the Foreign Office begged the

advice of the white men, and they recommended that he should propose a joint discussion by all the foreign representatives of the points raised. This was not done, but a meeting was held to talk over the neutrality of parts of Korea, should war take place between China and Japan. Both General Yuan and Mr. Otori attended, with other diplomatic representatives. All present, save the Japanese Minister, urged that, if war broke out, the two Powers should recognise the neutrality of Chemulpho, of Seoul, and of all Treaty ports. Mr. Otori refused to discuss any other point than the neutrality of Chemulpho, and on that he said he would not give any pledges without instructions from his Government, which it would take three weeks to receive.

Japan had clearly resolved on war, and it surprised no one when, on July 19th, Japanese troops moved towards Asan, and the Japanese Minister delivered an ultimatum to the Korean Government. This ultimatum demanded that the Japanese reforms be accepted unconditionally in three days, and that the Chinese troops be called upon to withdraw. If this were not done, strong measures would be taken. The Korean Government, still convinced that Japan could do little or nothing against China, replied by refusing to promise to initiate reforms, so long as Seoul was menaced by the Japanese troops.

This is not the place to describe the war that followed between China and Japan. Its progress came as a surprise to the world, including most white residents in the Far East. The average Chinaman felt assured that in a couple of months the Land

of the Rising Sun would be turned into a region of everlasting darkness, and that all wo-jin would be killed! What could forty millions do against more than four hundred millions? On July 25th the Japanese opened hostilities by blowing up a Chinese transport, the *Kowshin*, with 1,200 men on board, as she was approaching Korea. Then came rapid blows by the Japanese troops, a temporary Chinese victory at Asan, followed by the destruction of the army at Ping-yang, the naval battle of the Yalu, in which the Chinese fleet was destroyed, the capture of Port Arthur, and the horrible massacre of the people there, the invasion of Manchuria, the capture of Wei-hai-wei, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895.

A few days before the outbreak of the war, the Japanese placed themselves in control of the Korean capital. On July 22nd, a number of Japanese troops entered Seoul, and it seemed as though there would be fighting between them and the native soldiers; but the Japanese returned to their settlement in the evening, and the Koreans dispersed. At dawn, on the following day, a body of Japanese troops quietly moved towards the palace, scaled the walls with ladders, and after a little fighting with the palace guard, secured possession of the person of the King. The Japanese immediately sent for the Tai Won Kun, who had co-operated with them in this move, and made him once more Regent. He, however, became alarmed at the steps the Japanese were taking, and he resigned office in a few days, without ever having exercised his new power. At the same

time as the palace was being seized, other parties of Japanese troops took possession of the telegraph office and cut down the wires, seized the gates of the city, occupied some Korean military camps and assumed supreme power.

The Japanese Minister promptly sent a circular to the foreign representatives telling them of the seizure of the palace, and of the causes that had led up to it. According to this account, some Japanese troops had been marching by the side of the palace in order to camp on the hills beyond, when they were fired upon by Korean soldiers. The Japanese returned the fire in self-defence, and were subsequently obliged to enter and guard the royal apartments on account of the Koreans continuing hostilities. Mr. Otori gave the usual Japanese assurances, with which the world has since grown very familiar, that his Government had "no aggressive intentions against Korea."

That afternoon all the foreign representatives, except those of China and Japan, visited the palace, at the royal request. There they found the King and the Crown Prince in small and poor quarters, all their better rooms being now occupied by Japanese. The King was greatly alarmed, and begged the Consuls to remain with him all that night, for he evidently feared that he would be killed. The foreign representatives afterwards saw the Regent, who spoke in the bitterest terms of what the Japanese had done, but his denunciations were received with some scepticism.

On the day of the actual outbreak of war between

China and Japan, the King, yielding to force, gave Mr. Otori authority to expel the Chinese troops from Korea. A treaty was drawn up between Japan and Korea, and signed the following month. It consisted of three articles :

1. That the independence of Korea was declared, confirmed, and established, and in keeping with it the Chinese troops were to be driven out of the country.

2. That while war against China was being carried on by Japan, Korea was to facilitate the movements and to help in the food supplies of the Japanese troops in every possible way.

3. That this treaty should only last until the conclusion of peace with China.

Japan at once created an assembly, in the name of the King, for the "discussion of everything, great and small, that happened within the realm." This assembly at first met daily, and afterwards at longer intervals. There were soon no less than fifty Japanese advisers at work in Seoul. They were men of little experience and less responsibility, and they apparently thought that they were going to transform the land between the rising and setting of the sun. They produced endless ordinances, and scarce a day went by save that a number of new regulations were issued, some trivial, some striking at the oldest and most cherished institutions in the country. The Government was changed from an absolute monarchy to one where the King governed only by the advice of his Ministers. The power of direct address to the throne was denied to any one under the rank of Governor. One ordinance created

a constitution, and the next dealt with the status of the ladies of the royal seraglio. At one hour a proclamation went forth that all men were to cut their hair, and the wearied runners on their return were again despatched hot haste with an edict altering the official language. Nothing was too small, nothing too great, and nothing too contradictory for these constitution-mongers. Their doings were the laugh and the amazement of every foreigner in the place.

Acting on the Japanese love of order and of defined rank, exact titles of honour were provided for the wives of officials. These were divided into nine grades: "Pure and Reverend Lady," "Pure Lady," "Chaste Lady," "Chaste Dame," "Worthy Dame," "Courteous Dame," "Just Dame," "Peaceful Dame," and "Upright Dame." At the same time the King's concubines were equally divided, but here eight divisions were sufficient: "Mistress," "Noble Lady," "Resplendent Exemplar," "Chaste Exemplar," "Resplendent Demeanour," "Chaste Demeanour," "Resplendent Beauty," and "Chaste Beauty." The Japanese advisers instituted a number of sumptuary laws that stirred the country to its depths, relating to the length of pipes, style of dress, and the attiring of the hair of the people. Pipes were to be short, in place of the long bamboo churchwarden beloved by the Koreans. Sleeves were to be clipped. The top-knot, worn by all Korean men, was at once to be cut off. Soldiers at the city gates proceeded to enforce this last regulation rigorously.

The Japanese could have done nothing better calculated to alienate the affection of every Korean. To the Korean lad the first time that his hair is made up into a top-knot is the proudest day of his life, for it is the sign that he has passed boyhood and entered into man's estate. The top-knot was then and is still to a lesser extent, the symbol of manhood, and any one who was without it was looked upon as an utter outcast. Men who obeyed the ordinance did so often with bitter tears, and always with a sense of hatred of those who had forced it on them. Had the Japanese been content to go more slowly here, they would have gained their purpose in a much more assured fashion. They were right in supposing that the top-knot was bound to disappear, but their mistake lay in attempting to do by legislation what should have been left to the growing enlightenment of the people. One sees in Russian Manchuria, for instance, where no pressure whatever is brought on the great multitudes of Koreans settled there to alter their ways, that after a very few years the average man abandons his peculiarities of attire and of hair dressing, because he finds it convenient to do so. My own Korean servants, after a time of association with Europeans, came to realise that the top-knot, the long sleeves, and the very big hat were impracticable and a nuisance, and some of them gave them up in consequence. That was a natural and proper evolution. The hasty Japanese action secured a far longer life for the top-knot, for to many people this knot became a symbol henceforth, not merely of old Korean life, but of national loyalty.

Japanese troops remained in the palace for a month, and the King was badly treated during that time. It did not suit the purpose of the Japanese Government just then to destroy the old Korean form of administration. It was exceedingly doubtful how far the European Powers would permit Japan to extend her territory, and so the Japanese decided to allow Korea still to retain a nominal independence. The King and his Ministers implored Mr. Otori to withdraw his soldiers from the royal presence. Mr. Otori agreed to do so, at a price, and his price was the royal consent to a number of concessions that would give Japan almost a monopoly of industry in Korea. The Japanese guard marched out of the palace on August 25th, and was replaced by Korean soldiers armed with sticks. Later on the Korean soldiers were graciously permitted to carry muskets, but they were not served out with any ammunition. Japanese troops still retained possession of the palace gates and adjoining buildings.

Another movement took place at this time as the result of Japanese supremacy. The Ming family—the family of the Queen—was driven from power and the Mings, who a few months before held all the important offices in the kingdom, were wiped out of public life, so much so that there was not a single Ming in one of the new departments of state.

The action of the Japanese created great resentment throughout the country. The indignities to which the King was submitted in particular caused

a sense of horror among a people difficult to move to united action on public affairs. The only friends of Japan at that time were a few Korean officials, financially and personally interested. The foreign representatives in Seoul were as anti-Japanese as the Koreans themselves.



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie

A GATEWAY OF CHONG-JU.

CHAPTER V

THE MURDER OF THE QUEEN

THE spring of 1895 saw great excitement and agitation throughout Korea. The Japanese success in the China war was followed by the beginning of a policy that clearly pointed to the commercial absorption of the country. In May the foreign representatives were driven to protest against the granting of monopolies, and the exclusion of their nationals from commercial opportunities. A large number of low-class Japanese appeared in all parts, and the Japanese soldiers adopted a much more aggressive and domineering attitude. The more prudent Japanese themselves saw the danger of this. Count Inouye, who had succeeded Mr. Otori as Minister to Korea, was unceasing in his warnings as to the injury this conduct would cause. He made formal representations to his own Government about the violent ways and rascalities of these emigrants. They had been cheating and lying to the Koreans, he declared, and bringing disgrace upon Japan. If steps were not at once taken to repress them, every particle of

respect for Japan would be crushed out in Korea. "The Japanese residents in Korea must be reformed," he said. The Count made three charges against his fellow-countrymen in Korea: lack of co-operation, arrogance, and extravagance, and backed each point in his indictment with forcible illustrations. Under the second head he said:—

"The Japanese are not only impolite, but they often insult the Koreans. They are rude in their treatment of Korean customers, and when there is some slight misunderstanding they do not hesitate to appeal to fists, and even go as far as to throw Koreans into rivers or use weapons. Merchants thus frequently become rowdies, and many of them are consequently convicted. Those who are not merchants are still more rude and violent. They say they have made Korea independent, they have suppressed the Tong-haks, and those Koreans who dare oppose them, who dare disobey them, are ungrateful fellows. How can the Koreans help being frightened by the Japanese? But flight follows fright, and hatred follows dislike. Then it is only natural for Koreans to seek friendship with other foreigners. With restoration of peace many Chinese are coming again to Korea; and if the Japanese continue in their arrogance and rudeness, all the respect and love due to them will be lost, and there will remain hatred and enmity against them."

The Count talked in the same way to the white residents in Seoul. "When our troops first entered Korea to repress the Tong-haks," he told on

American, "they paid for every yen's worth of supplies. They were considerate and kind, and they were well received. Since the war they have behaved more like conquerors. The people have been somewhat incensed against them, and in this have been stimulated by intriguers who are interested in poisoning them against the Japanese."

An English paper published at Seoul, the *Korean Repository*, backed up the Count's complaints:—

"We had not noticed to any considerable extent this kind of arrogance among the Japanese in the capital before the war. But since the Japanese supremacy in Korea this spirit has manifested itself. We understand from a trustworthy source that traders in the country and in cities outside Seoul are extremely rude and violent in their treatment of Koreans. Not a day passes but some harmless Korean is defrauded and insulted. He ventures to expostulate, he tries to resist, only to find that the barbarian (we should use the same term in characterising similar acts of our countryman) from across the sea has more muscle and skill than he has, and that both will be used when necessity demands. What do these adventurers care for law? They are after money, and the rights of Koreans do not enter into the account. Japan is to be congratulated that Count Inouye sees these evils, and we may be quite sure that 'unless the general Japanese correct themselves,' measures will be provided by the Government to do it for them."

The Council of State was still turning out its resolutions of reform, urged thereto by the Japanese

advisers. Some of these reforms were excellent, and had it been possible to vivify a people by legislation alone, then they would no doubt have done the work. Among the men who now came to the front were several of the participants in the *émeute* of 1882, who were brought back by the Japanese. Their leader, Prince Pak Yong Hio, a son-in-law of the last King, became Premier and Home Minister. He was twenty-three years old at the time of the attempted murder of the Conservative leaders, and he had escaped to Japan, where he learnt more wisdom and caution. The Japanese, no doubt, thought that he would be a convenient tool in their hands. But Pak had no intention of lending himself to the service of any but his own countrymen. He entered upon his duties with the determination to build up a new Kòrea. He proposed various reforms. He wanted a real army, drilled after new methods. He sought to have the limited nature of the monarchy clearly set forth and recognised. He was strongly in favour of education, and was a friend of the missionaries. He looked specially to America to aid Korea.

“You can do us a great deal of good,” he told one American. “You are so far away that you would not be suspected of selfish designs. What our people need is education and Christianisation. Through your missionaries and your mission schools you could educate and elevate our people. It would be a great aid, and perhaps a tedious work, but your great Republic could do this. Your missionaries have already done good work in Korea. Our old religions

sit lightly, and the way to Christian conversion is open. An army of Christian teachers and workers should be placed in every section of our country. Our people should be educated and Christianised before they undertake any constitutional reform. Then we shall have constitutional government and, in the distant future, perhaps, a free and enlightened country such as yours."

When, however, the Japanese asked Pak, in his capacity as Home Minister, for various concessions and privileges, they found that he was very unwilling to give away any Korean rights. The Minister was distrusted by his fellow-countrymen, who believed him to be a mere agent of the Japanese Government. He was disliked by the Japanese because he would not yield them what they wanted.

For some months a new power had been coming more and more to the front in Korea. Russia was making her way eastwards. The Trans-Siberian Railway was now being pushed forward to the Pacific, and Russian agents were showing the utmost activity in every Asian Court. In Seoul, in particular, the Russians had adopted a bold and aggressive policy.

The temporary triumph of the Tai Won Kun was not to continue. The Queen, a little, pale-cheeked, thin-faced woman, kind to her friends and implacable to her foes, again came to the front. Step by step she restored her family to favour. She intrigued, now with the Japanese and now against them, and each week saw her adding to her power. By the summer of that year the old Regent was in utter disgrace, and then the Queen secured the overthrow

of Pak Yong Hio. A Japanese coolie started a rumour that the Home Minister was conspiring against the King and Queen. The steps Pak was taking to limit the powers of the monarchy gave some countenance to this story. Pak was too honest a man to have many partisans. Word was brought to him that an order had been issued by the Court depriving him of his portfolio, and knowing that this meant at least imprisonment, he hastily donned an old suit over his official garb, mounted a horse, rode away to the Japanese Legation, and asked for protection there. The next day he left the Legation clad in European clothes, and got away on board a Japanese steamer, narrowly escaping arrest. "My trouble has come upon me solely through the Queen," he said. "She is a very shrewd and ambitious woman. She has but one aim, and that is to keep the Ming family in power. So long as the Mings rule there will be little change in Korea. Our people to-day are the subjects of a Royal mistress who can dispose of them as she pleases. Their lives and their property belong to the Royal Family." It was believed that Count Inouye would insist upon the Korean Court retaining Pak's services, but he did not do so. Pak left Korea solemnly warning his countrymen that if they were not careful Japan would destroy them. "If Japan establishes a protectorate over Korea," he said, "she will eventually absorb or control the country. Japan has guaranteed our independence, and I want to see that independence so maintained."

As the summer went on, it became more and

more clear that the Queen was working in direct hostility to Japanese interests. Count Inouye had a long interview with her shortly before he left for Tokyo. He described the state of affairs in an important despatch to his Government:—

“On one occasion the Queen observed to me: During the disturbance in the Royal palace last year the Japanese troops unexpectedly escorted to the palace the Tai Won Kun, who regarded Japan from the first as his enemy. He resumed the control of the Government, the King becoming only a nominal ruler. In a short time, however, the Tai Won Kun had to resign the reins of government to the King through your influence, and so things were restored to their former state. The new Cabinet subsequently framed rules and regulations, making its power despotic. The King was a mere tool, approving all matters submitted by the Cabinet. It is a matter of extreme regret to me (the Queen) that the overtures made by me towards Japan were rejected. The Tai Won Kun, on the other hand (who showed his unfriendliness towards Japan) was assisted by the Japanese Minister to rise in power. . . .

“I (Count Inouye) gave, as far as I could, an explanation of these things to the Queen, and after so allaying her suspicions, I further explained that it was the true and sincere desire of the Emperor and Government of Japan to place the independence of Korea on a firm basis, and in the meantime to strengthen the Royal house of Korea. In the event of any member of the Royal

Family, or indeed any Korean, therefore, attempting treason against the Royal house, I gave the assurance that the Japanese Government would not fail to protect the Royal house even by force of arms, and so secure the safety of the kingdom. These remarks of mine seemed to move the King and Queen, and their anxiety for the future appeared to be much relieved."

The Count openly expressed great respect for the shrewdness and political sagacity of the Queen. "She has many enemies in Korea," he said, "but she is a woman of unusual force, although given to superstitious practices. She fears for her son, who is a remarkably bright and promising lad, and she is constantly praying to Buddhist gods for his safety."

Count Inouye was succeeded at the beginning of September by General Viscount Miura, an old soldier who had taken a prominent part in the civil wars. Miura had the reputation of being a man of the sternest manner, a strict religionist, and a Buddhist of the Zen school, who carried the ascetic practices of his sect to their utmost extreme. He found himself constantly met by the Queen's stubborn opposition. In scheme after scheme he was checkmated by her. The King, weak, irresolute, and easily turned from his purpose, was regarded by both sides as little more than a cypher. The Queen was the one whom Japan had to fear, and Miura knew it. How was he to overcome her? His First Secretary, Sugimura, was all in favour of extreme measures.

The Tai Won Kun and the new Minister now came in touch with one another. According to the Japanese account, Miura was secretly approached by the ex-Regent, but probably Sugimura acted as the go-between and planned out the course of action. The Tai Won Kun desired to return to power, the Minister wished to strengthen the declining influence of Japan. Only one little woman stood in the way of both their desires. Once she was swept aside, all must go well. The two parties had several conferences regarding their line of action, and everything was done between them with a due observance of business forms. On October 3rd, Miura, Sugimura, and Okamoto, the Japanese adviser to the Korean Department of War and of the Household, met in the Legation to decide upon their plan of campaign. No moves were to be made unless the ex-Regent would definitely pledge himself to refrain from interfering in the actual administration of the country, and to grant the Japanese the commercial and political privileges they desired. These demands were drawn up in writing. If he consented to them, the Japanese troops, the Japanese police and the native soldiers, the Kunrentai, drilled and officered by Japanese, were to attack the palace, make the King a prisoner, kill the Queen, and declare the Regent supreme. To quote the exact words of the Japanese official report: "It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court."

Okamoto visited the Tai Won Kun at his country house, showed him the document and urged him to join. The old man, who was now eighty years of age, his son and his grandson agreed, and gave a written promise to place themselves in the hands of Japan. In order to cover the tracks of the conspirators, and to remove any suspicion that might be aroused by the visit, it was given out that Okamoto was departing for his own country and that he had gone to Tai Won Kun to bid him farewell.

Events were hastened by the action of the Court party.

Some weeks before this the Kunrentai troops—the soldiers under Japanese officers—had quarrelled with the city police, and killed a number of them. The Ministers proposed to take advantage of this and disband the regiment. The Minister for War visited the Japanese Legation and betrayed the plan. Thereupon it was resolved to make the attempt on the Queen that very night. Colonel Kunsunose, Commandant of the Japanese troops in Seoul, was already at Chemulpho on his way home on leave. A telegram was sent to him to return at once. He was ordered to go to the palace with his troops under the cover of darkness, to guard the gates during an attack, and to permit no persons, male or female, to leave. Miura summoned a few Japanese soshi, professional bullies, revealed his plan to them, and bade them collect their friends and help him carry it out. Again I quote the official report: “Miura told them that on the success of the enter-

prise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief in the kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to despatch the Queen when they entered the palace." The Japanese police were also instructed to co-operate, and the Korean partisans of the Tai Won Kun were summoned by messenger to assemble and to assist. The Japanese police, it may be said, were ordered to put on civilian dress, and provide themselves with swords. Two of the *soshi*, Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigearika, collected twenty-four like-minded bullies, and about one-half of these, acting as an inner group, were given special orders to find the Queen and kill her. Draft manifestos were drawn up in advance for publication after the murder.

About three o'clock on the morning of the 8th the Tai Won Kun set out from his country residence with a party of Japanese, headed by Okamoto. The latter first paraded all his followers outside the main gate of the Prince's residence, and told them that the "fox," meaning the Queen, was to be dealt with as circumstances might decide. The entire party proceeded towards the west gate of the city, met the *Kunrentai*, and waited for the arrival of the Japanese soldiers. Then all moved on, the *Kunrentai* to the front. The Japanese officers in charge of the *Kunrentai* troops, the police, and the bullies made a central group. There was no difficulty in entering, when they reached the palace, for the gates were in the hands of Japanese soldiers. Most of the regular troops paraded outside, according to orders. Some went inside the grounds accompanied by the rabble,

and others moved to the sides of the palace, surrounding it to prevent any from escaping. A body of men attacked and broke down the wall near to the Royal apartments.

Rumours had reached the palace that some plot was in progress, but no one seems to have taken much trouble to maintain special watch. There were two foreigners in charge of the palace guards, Mr. Sabatine, a Russian, and General Dye, an American. Neither of these came out of the affair with enhanced reputation. General Dye was a very charming old gentleman, skilled in growing apples. The products of his orchard were the admiration of his neighbours, but he was of little use in protecting his Royal employers. I have been unable to find out exactly what he did during the subsequent events, but he seems to have been shut in a room and to have done nothing. Sabatine was brushed on one side by the conspirators, and threatened with death if he interfered. Whatever the excuses of these two men, the damning fact remains that they lived through that night without suffering so much as a scratch, and without striking a blow for the woman they were paid to protect.

At the first sign of the troops breaking down the walls and entering through the gates, there was confusion throughout the palace. Some of the Korean bodyguard tried to resist, but after a few of them were shot the others retired. The Royal apartment was of the usual one-storied type, led to by a few stone steps, and with carved wooden doors and oiled-paper windows. The Japanese made straight for it, and, when they reached the small courtyard in front, their

troops paraded up before the entrance, while the soshi broke down the doors and entered the rooms. Some caught hold of the King and presented him with a document by which he was to divorce and repudiate the Queen. Despite every threat, he refused to sign this. Others were pressing into the Queen's apartments. The Minister of the Household tried to stop them, but was killed on the spot. The soshi seized the terrified palace ladies, who were running away, dragged them round and round by their hair, and beat them, demanding that they should tell where the Queen was. They moaned and cried and declared that they did not know. Now the men were pressing into the side-rooms, some of them hauling the palace ladies by their hair. Okamoto, who led the way, found a little woman hiding in a corner, grabbed her head, and asked her if she were the Queen. She denied it, freed herself, with a sudden jerk, and ran into the corridor, shouting as she ran. Her son, who was present, heard her call his name three times, but, before she could utter more, the Japanese were on her and had cut her down. Some of the female attendants were dragged up, shown the dying body, and made to recognise it, and then three of them were put to the sword.

The conspirators had brought kerosene with them. They threw a bedwrap around the Queen, probably not yet dead, and carried her to a grove of trees in the deer park not far away. There they poured the oil over her, piled faggots of wood around, and set all on fire. They fed the flames with more

and more kerosene, until everything was consumed, save a few bones.

Almost before the body was alight the Tai Won Kun was being borne into the palace under an escort of triumphant Japanese soldiers. He at once assumed control of affairs. The King was made a prisoner in his palace. The Tai Won Kun's partisans were summoned to form a Cabinet, and orders were given that all officials known to have been of the Queen's party should be arrested.

The report of Colonel Hyun-in-Tak, officer in charge of the Korean bodyguard, supplies some interesting details. Colonel Hyun handed this statement to Dr. Allen, the American Acting Minister, a few days afterwards :—

“At 2 a.m. on the twentieth day of the eighth moon, 504 years since the foundation of the present dynasty, two of His Majesty's private police, who had been despatched to go round the wall of the palace on duty to watch, told me that about 200 Japanese soldiers had just gone into the Sam-kom-Boo, the barracks in front of the palace. I sent soldiers to inquire and found the above statement true. At four o'clock, on being informed that Japanese troops surrounded the north-western gate of the palace, and that they were climbing up in the middle part of the north mountain facing towards the palace grounds, and that Japanese and Korean soldiers were breaking the front gate of the palace, I gave orders to place

soldiers of His Majesty's bodyguard at all parts of the palace to make resistance.

"Then I heard that Japanese troops had climbed over the wall of the north-western gate, so I went and found that about a hundred Japanese troops had already come into the back grounds of the palace. I shut the gate leading to these grounds, and was in the act of resisting with soldiers, but the Japanese troops rushed into the palace shooting from the front gate, which was opened to them. The soldiers of His Majesty's bodyguard resisted by shooting, but they were finally defeated and dispersed. Now the Japanese troops all rushed to His Majesty's family house and surrounded it. About twenty Japanese came, dressed in ordinary European clothes, with swords, and some in Japanese native costume, also with swords, and some regular Japanese soldiers, carrying rifles on their shoulders. They got hold of me and tied my hands behind my back, and they asked me, 'Where is the Queen?' beating me all the time. I replied, 'I do not know.' They asked my name, and I gave it. They then dragged me to His Majesty's family house, still questioning me as to where the Queen was. I said, 'I do not know where she is, even if you kill me.' They dragged me in front of His Majesty, and pressed me to point out the Queen, and I still said I did not know where she was. They took me to a building called the Kark Kum Chung. I was being beaten all the time. Suddenly a lot of the Japanese in His Majesty's house made shouts, whereupon my captors let go of me and rushed to the house. I went there to

see what had taken place, and found His Majesty had been removed to the outer apartments. I saw what I thought to be the Queen lying dead in the minor apartments of the house. I was then driven out by the Japanese. A little while afterwards, hearing that the Japanese were burning the corpse of the murdered Queen in the eastern park near by, I rushed to the gate, and there I saw clearly that the dress of the burning corpse was a lady's."

CHAPTER VI

AFTER THE MURDER

THE news of the murder of the Queen was received by the foreign community at Seoul at first with incredulity, and then with horror. The Japanese attempted to prevent details from getting abroad. Colonel Cockerill, the famous correspondent of the *New York Herald* was in Seoul at the time, and at once cabled to his paper, but his message was stopped and the money returned to him. This stoppage was afterwards apologised for by the Japanese Government. When details were published in Europe and America, they did Japan more harm than the loss of a great battle.

Miura disclaimed responsibility and maintained that the crime was solely the work of Koreans. When this account became manifestly impossible, he said that it was done by the Koreans, helped by a few irresponsible soshi. On the day following the murder, he wrote to the Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs: "I gather that the origin of the *émeute* was a conflict between the drilled (Korean) troops, who desired to lay a complaint in the palace, and the guards and police who prevented their entrance." In another

letter he declared that the story that the Japanese were engaged in the murder was "a fabrication based on hearsay, and unworthy of credence." In an interview a day or two afterwards, the Viscount said that the plot was hatched by Koreans, and carried out by Koreans: "If any Japanese have participated in it, they were of the class of *soshi*, vagabonds, marplots and disturbers, who could be hired to commit almost any crime and by anybody. Japan has done much for Korea. It has fought a war to secure Korea's independence, it has loaned it money, and has for years sent its advisers here to aid in reforming and uplifting the country."

It soon became clear, however, that the real story could not be suppressed. The Japanese Government thereupon promptly disavowed all knowledge of the affair, and promised to undertake a full inquiry, and to punish the guilty. Prince (then Marquis) Ito, the Prime Minister, was specially emphatic: "I believe that it is meant to seek out and punish, if possible, every unworthy son of Japan connected with this crime," he said. "Not to do so would be to condemn Japan in the eyes of all the world. If she does not repudiate this usurpation on the part of Tai Won Kun she must lose the respect of every civilised Government on earth. In the death of the Queen, Japan loses a pronounced and implacable foe, but no matter how large the game in Korea, she cannot afford to uphold the hands of the infamous Tai Won Kun and Korean banditti who now surround him. I am assured that had Count Inouye continued to represent Japan here he could eventually have won the

Queen over and made her a staunch friend of Japan. His withdrawal from Seoul was unfortunate for Japan." Miura was promptly recalled and deprived of his rank and honours, and he and his chief assistants were arrested and placed on trial. But it was manifest, even thus early, that the Japanese Government had no intention of setting the wrong right, and that the arrest of the leaders was a mere farce. Prince Ito proved then, as he has shown time after time since in his dealings with Korea, that whatever the sincerity of his own good intentions, and however kindly disposed he may be personally to the Korean people, he is willing to condone the crimes of his subordinates, when they lead to the increase of Japanese power.

To add to their offence, the Japanese, through their mouthpiece, the Tai Won Kun, did everything they could to disgrace and degrade the memory of the murdered Queen. On October 11th a so-called Royal Decree was issued in the King's name, denouncing Queen Min, ranking her among the lowest prostitutes, and assuming that she was not dead, but had escaped, and would again come forward. "We knew the extreme of her wickedness," said the decree, "but We were helpless and full of fear of her party, and so could not dismiss and punish her. We are convinced that she is not only unfitted and unworthy to be Queen, but also that her guilt is excessive and overflowing. With her We could not succeed to the glory of the Royal ancestors, so We hereby depose her from the rank of Queen and reduce her to the level of the lowest class." Here

Miura overreached himself. Acting in his personality as Japanese Minister, he accepted the decree which he had caused to be issued through his mouth-piece, the Tai Won Kun. He declared, with the fervour of a Pecksniff, that "this intelligence has profoundly shocked me." But the other foreign representatives now intervened. The Russian Minister, M. Waeber, promptly and in the most emphatic manner refused to accept the decree as coming from the King. All of the others, except one, followed his lead. Ten days later Miura was recalled.

The King himself was confined in his palace, and surrounded by the Tai Won Kun's party. On the day of the murder he was visited by the Russian Minister and by Dr. Allen, and they found him in a state of utter prostration. The palace attendants, officials, and soldiers were clearing out as quickly as they could, like rats from a sinking ship, and tearing off any symbols that might cause them to be recognised as members of the Royal party. The foreign representatives refused as a body to recognise the Tai Won Kun, and they insisted upon having personal intercourse with the King. The poor King was terrified lest he should be poisoned, and he refused to eat anything but condensed milk, sent to him in sealed cans, or eggs cooked in their shells. In order to prevent him from being murdered, Dr. Aveson, a doctor who had done splendid service in Korea, and other American missionaries, went to the palace and stayed there night after night, thinking that the presence of foreign witnesses might restrain the conspirators.



Photograph by]

THE COURTYARD OF THE OLD PALACE IN SEOUL, FORSAKEN AFTER THE MURDER OF THE QUEEN ;
WITH WEEDS GROWING BETWEEN THE STONES.

[F. A. McKenzie.

At the same time the missionaries and the ladies of the Legations, hearing of the King's difficulties with his food, cooked special dishes themselves and sent them regularly to him in tin boxes, fastened with a Yale lock.

General Dye still remained around the Royal person, but all possible pressure was used to remove him and to replace him by a Japanese. Colonel Cockerill, who had audience with the King two days after the murder, wrote a vivid impression of the scene: "Mounting a few steps, and crossing a verandah, we entered a small room and turned to the left. We saw in the doorway a still smaller apartment, decorated in simple Korean style. The poor King was standing, pigeon-toed and pallid, beside his flabby son, still known as the Crown Prince. The King is small in stature, thin, and bloodless-looking; the events of the past few days have added to his waxiness, and his nervousness was painful to behold. Turning to the Rev. H. J. Jones, who acted as interpreter, he inquired if he might shake hands with us. One by one he shook each of us by the hand with considerable fervour, and then placed the hand of each visitor in that of his grinning, imbecile son by his side.

"At this point the Russian Minister passed to the King a large tin box which contained, as he explained, some fruits and food from his own table. The King, who lives in hourly fear of poison, took the box in his own hands. The key was passed to him.

"The King, who stood on the right of the new

War Minister, pleaded with his eyes to M. Waeber, and motioned with his hands to indicate that the faithful Dye should not be taken from him. His whole body twitched as though he was afflicted with St. Vitus' dance, and his eyes were pleading sorrowfully."¹

Early in the following year Miura, his two chief assistants, Sugimura and Okamoto, and forty-five others were brought up for examination at a Court of Preliminary Inquiries at Hiroshima. It was common talk in Japan that whatever the evidence might be the accused were to be acquitted, but no one thought that the Court would bring in the amazing finding it did. This finding is probably unequalled in judicial annals. The Judge of the Court of Preliminary Inquiry reported that Miura and his assistants had planned, in co-operation with the Tai Won Kun, to murder the Queen; they had used the military and police to aid them; they had enlisted the services of a number of men for this purpose; they had instigated them to dispatch the Queen, and the men had been led against the palace to accomplish this. "About dawn," the report went on, "the whole party entered the palace through the Kwang-hwa Gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers. Notwithstanding these facts, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them. . . . For these reasons the accused, each and all, are hereby discharged."

The verdict was very popular in Japan, and Miura

¹ *New York Herald*, October 12, 1895.

at once became a national hero. Shortly afterwards his full honours and titles were restored to him, and he retains them to this day. It had been the intention of his counsel, Mr. Masujima, to plead justification, had the case come on for trial. Mr. Masujima published his side of the case in a Japanese periodical shortly afterwards. Probably no civilised lawyer has in recent years more openly avowed the doctrine of "killing no murder," when the killing is to secure political supremacy. "Whatever may be thought by weaker minds, the result of the *émeute* has been most happy for the peace and progress of the world," wrote Mr. Masujima. "Had the Queen been successful in her conspiracy, all the efforts made by Japan for the resuscitation of Korea would have been fruitless. The only political party which could reform Korea, and thereby maintain her independence, would have been extirpated. The Queen was Korean at heart, and was accustomed to violent and treacherous methods. Supported by a foreign power in her policy, she was ready to resort to any means to execute her programme. The promise of any foreign assistance to her was inciting and dangerous. Such a course of diplomatic procedure must be put down. The *émeute* crushed the mischief. The form of the Queen's conspiracy was criminal, and the Japanese Minister was justified in preventing the execution of the criminal attempt. He did only his duty as soon as he was in charge of the peace and order of Korea. The root of political troubles, the effects of which would have lasted for a long time to come, was torn up. Considering the class

of diplomacy prevailing in Korea, Viscount Miura has accomplished only a triumph." ¹

If the Japanese escaped so easily, some others did not. Three Koreans, who had taken no part in the crime, were seized by the Tai Won Kun, and were rapidly tried and executed. One of them was a poor soldier, who had accidentally passed through the grove where the Queen's body was burnt, and had seen the deed done. The two others were apparently as guiltless as he. These executions were declared to be evidence that the Tai Won Kun had no hand in the crime of October 8th. The foreign representatives did what they could to prevent them, and sent full reports of the affair to their Governments. Some of them urged their Home Authorities to intervene, but in vain. The British Consul-General, Sir Walter Hillier, did splendid work at this time to secure justice and peace.

"I wonder if the statesmen in Tokyo have an idea that this sort of thing will raise Japan in the estimation of the world at large?" wrote Colonel Cockerill, in a paragraph that voiced the sentiments of Europeans in the Far East. "Does not Marquis Ito well know that in the diplomacy of civilised nations the empire of Japan, which was advancing so proudly and rapidly, has dropped back a quarter of a century? If he does not know it, then he is not the guide I took him to be. The semi-barbaric condition of Korea has given to her benevolent neighbour an opportunity to teach bloody instructions which will not soon be forgotten; I fear, and as a sincere

¹ *The Far East*, February, 1896, vol. i. p. 20.

well-wisher of Japan, I grieve to record facts which not only proclaim her cruelty, but her injustice and indifference where her interests are involved. It is to be hoped that Viscount Miura will not be advanced in rank by his Government or rewarded with a medal commemorative of his great diplomatic sagacity. His rank is that of the man who planned the St. Bartholomew massacre, and the villain who blew up the consort of the Scottish Queen. I learn that at Hiroshima he is now the idol of the hour. He is called upon by distinguished officials, and upon the evening of his release he gave a grand banquet. His friend, the Tai Won Kun, has probably sent him a letter of congratulation.”

CHAPTER VII

THE ESCAPE OF THE KING

THE situation in Seoul after the recall of Viscount Miura was tangled. The King was still nominally supreme ruler of the country, but he was completely in the hands of the ex-Regent's party. Japan had sent Count Inouye as Envoy Extraordinary to find some way of smoothing over things, and he, while relaxing nothing of his country's grip of Korea, still modified some of the more offensive administrations of the Yi party. A large number of the dead Queen's adherents had fled to Legations and foreign houses, and were sheltered and protected there under extra-territorial rights.

At the end of November, some Koreans of the old palace guard, who were out of employment and in distress, attempted a counter revolution. It was a complete failure, for the troops in the palace were forewarned, and were lying in wait for the attack. It served, however, to bring upon the heads of the white men—who had no connection whatever with it—torrents of abuse from the Japanese. One Japanese newspaper, published in Seoul, distin-

guished itself by openly accusing the Russian and American representatives, and a number of American missionaries whom it named, of having made the conspiracy, and some of them of having actually taken part in the attack. In short, the Japanese tried, by stirring up much dust over this November business, to make the public forget the doings of October 8th. This brought a very vigorous protest from Colonel Cockerill: "I decline to believe anything in the shape of news sent out from Korea by the correspondents of the Japanese newspapers," he wrote. "A more flagitious and unconscionable lot of liars I have never known. As the Japanese Government exercises a strong censorship over its home press, it might be well for it to try its repressional hand upon the Japanese sheet published in Seoul, the *Kanjoshimpo*, which is labouring zealously, it would seem, to bring about the massacre of foreign representatives in Korea."

In keeping with Inouye's policy of conciliation, a decree was issued in the latter part of November restoring the late Queen to full rank. She was given the posthumous title of "Guileless; revered," and a temple called "Virtuous accomplishment" was dedicated to her memory. Twenty-two officials of high rank were commissioned to write her biography. But the King was still kept a prisoner.

The Russian Minister, M. Waeber, again intervened. On February 9, 1896, his Legation guard was increased to 160 men. Two days afterwards the Europeans in Seoul were aroused by the intelligence that the King had escaped from his

gaolers at the palace, and had taken refuge with the Russians. A little before seven o'clock in the morning the King and Crown Prince left the palace secretly, in closed chairs, such as women use. Their escape was carefully planned. For more than a week before, the ladies of the palace had caused a number of chairs to go in and out by the several gates in order to familiarise the guards with the idea that they were paying many visits. So when, early in the morning, two women's chairs were carried out by the attendants, the guards took no special notice. The King and his son arrived at the Russian Legation very much agitated and trembling. They were expected, and were at once admitted. As it is the custom in Korea for the King to work at night and sleep in the morning, the members of the Cabinet did not discover his escape for some hours, until news was brought to them from outside that he was safe under the guardianship of his new friends.

Excitement at once spread through the city. Great crowds assembled, some armed with sticks, some with stones, some with any weapons they could lay hands on. A number of old Court dignitaries hurried to the Legation, and within an hour or two a fresh Cabinet was constituted, and the old one deposed. During the morning a Royal Proclamation was issued :—

“ Alas! Alas! On account of Our unworthiness and maladministration the wicked advanced and the wise retired. Of the last ten years, none has passed without troubles. Some were brought on by those We

had trusted as the members of the body, while others, by those of Our own bone and flesh. Our dynasty of five centuries has thereby often been endangered, and millions of Our subjects have thereby been gradually impoverished. These facts make Us blush and sweat for shame. But these troubles have been brought about through Our partiality and selfwill, giving rise to rascality and blunders leading to calamities. All have been Our own fault from the first to the last.

“Fortunately through loyal and faithful subjects rising up in righteous efforts to remove the wicked, there is a hope that the tribulations experienced may invigorate the State, and that calm may return after the storm. This accords with the principle that human nature will have freedom after a long pressure, and that the ways of Heaven bring success after reverses. We shall endeavour to be merciful. No pardon, however, shall be extended to the principal traitors concerned in the affairs of July, 1894, and of October, 1895. Capital punishment should be their due, thus venting the indignation of men and gods alike. But to all the rest, officials or soldiers, citizens or coolies, a general amnesty, free and full, is granted, irrespective of the degree of their offences. Reform your hearts ; ease your minds ; go about your business, public or private, as in times past.

“As to the cutting of the top-knots—what can We say? Is it such an urgent matter? The traitors, by using force and coercion, brought about the affair. That this measure was taken against Our will is, no doubt, well known to all. Nor is it Our wish that

the conservative subjects throughout the country, moved to righteous indignation, should rise up, as they have, circulating false rumours, causing death and injury to one another, until the regular troops had to be sent to repress the disturbances by force. The traitors indulged their poisonous nature in everything. Fingers and hairs would fail to count their victims. The soldiers are Our children. So are the insurgents. Cut any of the ten fingers, and one would cause as much pain as another. Fighting long continued would pour out blood and heap up corpses, hindering communications and traffic. Alas! If this continues the people will all die. The mere contemplation of such consequences provokes Our tears and chills Our heart. We desire that as soon as these Our commands arrive the soldiers should return to Seoul and the insurgents to their respective places and occupations.

“As to the cutting of top-knots, no one shall be forced. As to dress and hats, do as you please. The evils now afflicting the people shall be duly attended to by the Government. This is Our own word of honour. Let all understand.

“By Order of His Majesty,

“PAK CHUNG YANG,

“Acting Home Minister and Prime Minister.

“11th day, 2nd moon, 1st year of Kon Yang.”

The heads of the Consulates and Legations called and paid their respects to the King, the Japanese Minister being the last to do so. For him this move meant utter defeat. Later in the day, a second

Proclamation was spread broadcast, calling on the soldiers to protect their King, to cut off the heads of the chief traitors, and to bring them to him. This gave the final edge to the temper of the mob. Great parties sought out the old Cabinet Ministers to slay them. Two Ministers were dragged into the street and slaughtered there with every accompaniment of brutality. One was cut down by a horrible gash extending from the back of the neck to the front of the ears, the crowd shouting like wild beasts as he fell. The people hurled stones on the dead bodies, some stamping on them, some spitting on them, and some tearing limb from limb. One man whipped out his knife and carved a piece of flesh from the thigh of one of the corpses. He put it to his mouth, and said to the others, "Let us eat them." But this was too much even for the frenzied people, and the crowd shrank back in horror. On the 19th, another Cabinet Minister was murdered in his country home. In one respect, however, the upheaval brought peace. Throughout the country districts, the people had been on the point of rising against the Japanese, who were reported to be universally hated as oppressors. Now that their King was in power again, they settled down peaceably.

The Japanese were now in disgrace and had lost all power. They at once steadily set themselves, by yielding, by patient diplomacy, and by secretly keeping the country in a ferment, to restore their influence. For the moment, the Russians were supreme. It is universally admitted that Russia could have had no better representative

than her Minister, M. Waeber. Here was one totally unlike the accepted type of the subtle and tortuous Russian diplomat—a type, one may add, more often found in romance than in real life. A kindly, simple, straightforward man, his policy was as open as the day, and even the other foreign representatives were amazed at the disinterestedness of his actions. He regarded the King as his guest, and he placed the big Russian Legation at the Royal disposal, asking for nothing in return, not even attempting to secure those concessions for his country which almost any other man of whatever nationality would have obtained under the circumstances. The King held his Court in the great central apartment of the Legation, and his various Cabinet Ministers had their burrows around him. There are many humorous stories of the Royal habits and freaks at this time—stories which it would be merely malicious to repeat. The King sought the friendship of foreigners, and it is said that he even, once or twice, went to the Seoul Club, which adjoins the Legation there, and had a game of billiards.

The people of Korea had been shaken to the depths by the events of the past few months, and were ready to launch out into genuine reform. Unfortunately the King was now far more feeble than before. The murder of his wife and the terror Japan had driven into his soul, had caused him to assume an attitude of cunning, and to change his mind and alter his policy whenever he thought that he was subjecting himself to the slightest risk. A remarkable figure among the younger Koreans came,



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

THE AUTHOR'S "NUMBER ONE BOY," WITH WIFE AND CHILD.

for the moment, to the front. In the uprising of 1882, one of the most prominent of the reformers had been So Jai Peel—Dr. Philip Jaisohn, to give him his European name. With the others, Jaisohn had to flee for his life, and he went to Japan and then, soon afterwards, to San Francisco. He knew but little English, and was totally unacquainted with foreign ways, and he had at first difficulty in earning enough for food. When people demanded to know what he could do, he held up his hands: "I have two hands, and with these I am willing to work at anything that you give me." He progressed so rapidly that, after a time, he entered college and graduated with honours. He became an American citizen, joined the American Civil Service, and in due course was made Doctor of Medicine by Johns Hopkins University. He acquired a practice as a physician in Washington, and was lecturer for two medical schools. After the murder of the Queen, he threw up his American connection and returned to Korea under a ten years' contract with the Government as Foreign Adviser.

Jaisohn was a sincere and uncompromising reformer. His brain was humming with ideas. The changes that had been instituted under the Japanese *régime*, such as the cutting of top-knots and the like, were forgotten by the Koreans as soon as the Japanese lost power. Everything was reverting to the old ways. Jaisohn tried other methods. He proposed open-air lectures, the establishment of schools and the general Americanisation of the country. He established a public park outside the city for experi-

ments in the cultivation of fruit-trees, plants, and shrubs. A part of the park was to be reserved for outdoor games. He started a paper, *The Independent*, in April, 1896, a four-page sheet with one page in English and three in Korean. This was, at first, issued three times a week, but soon a separate Korean edition was published as a daily. Led by him, a number of officials established the Independence Club, and, as a testimony to the reality of Korean independence, a great arch was erected outside the city. The purpose of the Club was "to discuss matters concerning the official improvements, customs, laws, religion, and various pertinent affairs in foreign lands." "The main object of the Club," said Jaisohn, "is to create public opinion, which has been totally unknown in Korea until lately."

It seemed for the moment as though the reformers would secure a real hold on affairs. Schools were started. The missionaries were obtaining a steadily growing influence, the way they had stood up for national rights during the Japanese control having raised them greatly in the popular esteem. In answer to vigorous appeals from his people, the King finally emerged from the Russian Legation, and settled in a palace in the heart of the city. He took the title of Emperor, and the name of Korea was altered from Chosen to Tai-han. But gradually the old gang of officials regained control. A certain amount of foreign influence was undoubtedly used to cripple the reformers, for it was not to the interest of at least one Power that Korea should become really independent and efficient. The Independence Arch

that had been started amid great excitement, was finished unnoticed. In May, 1898, the Government paid Dr. Jaisohn for the balance of his contract and dismissed him. A mass meeting was held outside the South Gate, imploring the Government to alter its decision, but in vain. The foreign merchants offered to provide Jaisohn with a salary if he would continue to live in the country, but he decided to return to America, and is to-day practising as a physician in Philadelphia.

The Independence Club had for some time before Jaisohn's departure been coming more and more into opposition to the Government. Thus, at the beginning of 1898, it presented a memorial to the Emperor, stating that, if Korea was to remain free, "it must not lean upon another nation nor tolerate foreign interference in the national administration ; and it must help itself by adopting a wise policy, and enforcing justice throughout the realm." The memorialists spoke to the King with great frankness. "Even the power of appointing and dismissing Government officials has been taken from our own authorities," they wrote. "The dishonest and corruptive classes thus created, take this opportunity to satisfy their contemptible nature by bringing foreign influence to bear upon Your Majesty, and some go so far as to even oppress and threaten the Throne for their personal gain, and for the interests of their foreign employers. Impossible stories and baseless reports which these classes continually bring to Your Majesty produce the most damaging effect upon Your Majesty's saintly intelligence. There is an old

saying that ice is generally discovered after stepping repeatedly upon frost. Hence it is perfectly natural for us to come to the conclusion, after witnessing so many lamentable events which have taken place, that before many moons the entire power of self-government will have become a matter of past record. If it is once lost, repentance cannot restore it."

The Independents were determined to have genuine reform, and the mass of the people were still behind them. The Conservatives, who opposed them, now controlled practically all official actions. The Independence Club started a popular agitation, and for months Seoul was in a ferment. Great meetings of the people continued day after day, the shops closing that all might attend. Even the women stirred from their retirement, and held meetings of their own to plead for change. To counteract this movement, the Conservative party revived and called to its aid an old secret society, the Pedlars' Guild, which had in the past been a useful agent for reaction. The Cabinet promised fair things, and various nominal reforms were outlined. The Independents' demands were, in the main, the absence of foreign control, care in granting foreign concessions, public trial of important offenders, honesty in State finance, and justice for all. In the end, another demand was added to these—that a popular representative tribunal should be elected.

When the Pedlars' Guild had organised its forces, the King commanded the disbandment of the Independence Club. The Independents retorted by going *en bloc* to the police headquarters, and asking



Photograph by]

SOLDIERS OF THE OLD KOREAN ARMY AROUND THE PALACE, SEOUL.

[F. A. McKenzie.

to be arrested. Early in November, 1898, seventeen of the Independent leaders were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death but for public clamour. The people rose and held a series of such angry demonstrations that, at the end of five days, the leaders were released.

The Government now, to quiet the people, gave assurances that genuine reforms would be instituted. When the mobs settled down, reform was again shelved. On one occasion, when the citizens of Seoul crowded into the main thoroughfare to renew their demands, the police were ordered to attack them with swords and destroy them. They refused to obey, and threw off their badges, saying that the cause of the people was their cause. The soldiers under foreign officers, however, had no hesitation in carrying out the Imperial commands. As a next move, many thousands of men, acting on an old national custom, went to the front of the palace and sat there in silence day and night for fourteen days. In Korea this is the most impressive of all ways of demonstrating the wrath of the nation, and it greatly embarrassed the Court.

The Pedlars' Guild was assembled in another part of the city, to make a counter demonstration. Early in the morning, when the Independents were numerically at their weakest, the Pedlars attacked them and drove them off. On attempting to return they found the way barred by police. Fight after fight occurred during the next few days between the popular party and the Conservatives, and then, to bring peace, the Emperor promised his people a

general audience in front of the palace. The meeting took place amid every possible surrounding that could lend it solemnity. The foreign representatives and the Government officials were in attendance. The Emperor, who stood on a specially built platform, received the leaders of the Independents and listened to the statement of their case. They asked that their monarch should keep some of his old promises to maintain the national integrity and to do justice. The Emperor, in return, presented them with a formal document, in which he agreed to their main demands.

The crowd, triumphant, dispersed. The organisation of the reformers slackened, for they thought that victory was won. Then the Conservative party landed its heaviest blows. The reformers were accused of desiring to establish a republic. Dissensions were created in their ranks by the promotion of a scheme to recall Pak Yong Hio. Some of the more extreme Independents indulged in wild talk, and gave an excuse for official repression. Large numbers of the reform leaders were arrested on various pretexts. Meetings were dispersed at the point of the bayonet, and the reform movement was broken. Though the Emperor did not yet realise it, he had, in the hour that he consented to crush the reformers, pronounced the doom of his country and of his own Imperial rule.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RUSSIAN RÉGIME

THE action of M. Waeber in giving shelter to the King was in keeping with the new aggressive policy of the Russian Government in the Far East. From the moment that the Trans-Siberian Railway had been determined upon, Russian statesmen convinced themselves of the possibility of great schemes of territorial domination on the Pacific Coast. Russia was to be mistress of China, owner of Manchuria, dictator of Korea and patron of Japan. The results of the Chino-Japanese War were far from welcome to the St. Petersburg statesmen, and when, under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China ceded the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan, Russia saw that her Eastern expansion would be definitely stopped. This contingency had, however, been prepared for. Russia had been sending warships to the Far East, and had secured the co-operation of France and Germany. The Kaiser, foreseeing possible dangers from the rise of a great yellow Power, willingly lent his assistance, and France was the traditional ally of Russia. So within a week of the news of the ratification of the treaty, Russia, Ger-

many, and France presented a Note to Japan requesting that the territories ceded to it on the mainland of China should not be permanently occupied, as such occupation would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Far East. Japan was in no position to begin war against three combined Powers, and refusal would have meant war. She looked to England, but England, while strictly standing aloof from the European representations, yet privately recommended Japan to yield. Amid the anger, and to the shame of the people who thus saw themselves robbed of the fruits of their victory, the Tokyo Government gave way. At the same time Japan began to build greater ships, to extend her fortifications, to strengthen her army, and to prepare for revenge.

It was Russia's hour of triumph, and for a time her representatives in the Far East assumed an air of domineering intolerance exceedingly galling to others. Russia was spoken of as supreme in Asia, and the paramount Power in Europe. Sober English reviews described her as "the protector of China and Korea." Russian diplomacy was now mainly and primarily bent on securing the realisation of a very natural and praiseworthy ambition. Shut in by the Black Sea to the south of Europe, with a limited outlook to the north on the Baltic, and with only Vladivostock, ice-bound for many months of the year, as her premier port on the Pacific, Russia wished to secure a terminus for her Trans-Siberian line that should have safe and open waters all the year round. Such a port might be

found either in Korea, where there are several splendid harbours, or in the Liaotung Peninsula. For the moment Russia paid attention to Korea.

Unable to meet her rival by force, Japan turned to diplomacy. In the summer of 1896 two remarkable agreements were drawn up between the respective Governments, one being signed by M. Waeber and Baron Komura at Seoul, and the second by Marshal Yamagata and Prince Lobanof at Moscow. Under the first of these, the Powers mutually consented to advise the Korean Emperor to return to his own palace, and Japan promised to take effective measures for the control of Japanese rowdies. Russia agreed that the Japanese guards, three companies of soldiers then in Korea, should remain for a time for the protection of the Japanese telegraph line from Fusan to Seoul, and that, when they were withdrawn, they should be temporarily replaced by groups of gendarmes at twelve intermediate posts between Fusan and Seoul. These gendarmes were not to exceed 200, and were to be retained until such time "as peace and order have been restored by the Government." In addition to these, two companies of Japanese troops were to be stationed at Seoul, one at Fusan, and one at Gensan, each company not exceeding 200 men. The Russian guards were not to be more numerous than those of Japan. In the Lobanof-Yamagata agreement Japan and Russia promised mutually to afford their assistance to Korea, if necessary, for foreign loans; to leave to the native Government, as soon as possible, the formation and maintenance of

a national army and police sufficient to maintain internal peace; and to keep the telegraph lines in Japanese hands; while Russia reserved the right to build a telegraph line from Seoul to her own frontier. These Agreements have been spoken of as an added humiliation to Japan; on the contrary, considering the circumstances when they were drawn up, they redound to the credit of the skill of the Japanese diplomats.

Unfortunately for Russia, the prudent and statesmanlike policy of M. Waeber did not meet with the approval of his official superiors, and in September, 1897, M. de Speyer succeeded him as *Chargé d'Affaires*. The change was received with universal regret by all foreigners in Korea. M. Waeber had done splendidly. He had been a real influence for good throughout the country, and, even from an exclusively Russian point of view, his cautious policy had gained for his Government more credit and influence than any other course of action could have done. A Russian-language school had been started by the Korean Government, mining and timber concessions had been granted to Russians, Colonel Potiata and a number of Russian officers and men had been employed to reorganise and drill the Korean troops, and Russia's financial and political influence had been supreme. Admiral Alexieff, now rising into power, thought that this was not enough.

M. de Speyer plainly had orders to quicken the pace, and he did so. He assumed a most aggressive and unpleasant attitude towards other foreigners, and

this quickly brought matters to a crisis, and caused his downfall.

The Korean Customs and Treasury had for some time been under the charge of Mr. (now Sir John) McLeavy Brown, an experienced member of the Chinese Customs, who was delegated to manage the Korean service. Mr. Brown had entire control of the Customs revenue, and none of it could be spent without his consent and signature. Himself a man of order, discipline, and unbending economy, his methods came upon the Korean officials as an unpleasant shock. Time after time he refused to make grants from the Customs funds for outlays with which he did not agree. He kept salaries within a strict limit, and he made people work for their money. When high officials wanted to appoint their near relations to posts with handsome pay and no work, Mr. Brown intervened. When a sinecurist died, Mr. Brown forbade the appointment of a successor. He held the keys of the purse. The Japanese had forced a loan on Korea in 1895 of 3,000,000 yen. Mr. Brown saved enough money to pay two-thirds of it off, and before very long paid three-quarters of a million more. He would have settled the final balance, but Japan requested that it might be left. Thanks to his activity, new streets were made in the capital, old thoroughfares were widened, improved sanitation was introduced, the roadway to the Pekin Pass was transformed, a magnificent palace was begun for the Emperor, and a scheme was formulated for surveying and lighting the coast.

The Russian authorities began to regard Mr. Brown's position and influence with alarm. A Russian Financial Adviser, Mr. Kerr Alexieff, agent of the Russian Finance Minister, arrived in Seoul on October 5, 1897. On the 25th of the same month, the Department of Foreign Affairs appointed him as successor to Mr. Brown. The latter ignored the order, and held on. When it was suggested that he should either share responsibility or act as the assistant to Alexieff, he peremptorily declined. The native officials, who saw the chance of plunder, rebelled against the Brown administration, and they were encouraged to do so by the Russians. M. Alexieff doubled all their salaries. Numbers of boxes of silver dollars were taken out of the Treasury and scattered freely among the palace officials. The Mint, which had up to now been working steadily in Mr. Brown's hands, began making erratic experiments in finance. All this time the old chief sat still. Then one day the British fleet appeared in Chemulpho Harbour. It was seen that, for once, the British Government had really made up its mind to act. Men, familiar with the wavering action of Downing Street in Far Eastern affairs, could not credit the news. Yet it was true, and when the Russians realised it, they promptly gave way. De Speyer soon afterwards left Seoul in semi-disgrace, and M. Alexieff and his officials withdrew. Mr. Brown was restored to a considerable part of his old authority, but unfortunately not to all. The British did not go so far as they might have done. Had they carried their action

to its logical end, it would have been better for Korea.

In 1898 there came the announcement of the leasing by China to Russia of the Liaotung Peninsula. This step ended all hopes of a Japanese-Russian alliance, and it made it no longer necessary for Russia to maintain such a hold on Korea. About the same time that Russia secured Port Arthur, she entered into a fresh treaty with Japan about Korea. She could afford to be generous, and she was. Both Powers pledged themselves to recognise the entire independence of Korea, and both agreed not to take any steps for the nomination of military instructors or financial advisers without having come previously to a mutual agreement. Russia definitely recognised the supreme nature of the Japanese enterprises in Korea, and promised not to impede the development of the commercial and industrial Japanese policy there.

The news of this agreement and the fact that the Russian military instructors and financial adviser were withdrawn from Seoul came as an overwhelming surprise to Europe. "The Convention simply registers the victory of Japan in the long diplomatic duel she has been fighting with Russia over Korea since the peace with China," proclaimed the *Times*. The Russian *Official Messenger* tried to put the best face it could on the matter, but it was not very successful.

"Since the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War the Imperial Government has spared no effort to secure the integrity and complete independence of

the State of Korea. At the outset, when the question of placing the financial and military organisation of the young State on solid bases was being considered, it was natural that the latter could not do without foreign support. That is why, in 1896, the Sovereign of Korea addressed to the Emperor a pressing request to send to Seoul Russian military instructors and a Financial Adviser. Owing to the assistance which Russia tendered her at the time of need, Korea has now entered upon a path where she can manage her own affairs even in an administrative respect. This circumstance made it possible for Russia and Japan to proceed to a friendly exchange of views to determine in a clear and precise manner the reciprocal relations of the new position of affairs created in the Korean Peninsula. The *pourparlers* in question led to the conclusion of the subjoined arrangement, the object of which is to complete the Protocol of Moscow, and which was signed in pursuance of the Emperor's command by our Minister at Tokyo. By the essential stipulation of this arrangement, the two Governments confirm definitively their recognition of the sovereignty and entire independence of the Korean Empire, and at the same time pledge themselves mutually to abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of that country. In the event of Korea needing the assistance of the two contracting States, Russia and Japan pledge themselves to adopt no measure with regard to Korea without preliminary agreement between them.

“The Convention attests the fact that the two

friendly States, having extensive, but at the same time perfectly reconcilable interests in the Far East, have quite naturally recognised the necessity of reciprocally securing tranquility in the neighbouring peninsula by safeguarding political independence and internal order in the young Korean Empire. In consequence of the conclusion of this friendly arrangement, Russia will be in a position to direct all her care and efforts to the accomplishment of the historical and essentially peaceful task devolving upon her on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.”¹

Subsequent events, however, were to prove that Russia's abandonment of Korea was only temporary. Within a few months her representatives were again intriguing and seeking to recover domination.

¹ Translation in the *Times*.

CHAPTER IX

THE RE-ENTRY OF JAPAN

THE Japanese had directed their energies carefully, cautiously, and deliberately to recover lost ground. Both France and America were now making their influence felt in Korea, and Russia soon renewed her activity. The French were specially desirous of holding railway concessions, knowing that command of railway lines involves more or less sovereignty. An American, Mr. J. Morse, had been given the right to build a line from Chemulpho to Seoul. The Japanese advanced the money, and secured an option which they took up in 1898. A French syndicate, working under Russian direction, obtained authority to build a railway from Seoul to Wi-ju. It was probably intended to connect this with the Trans-Siberian line by Moukden and Antung, if the plan for the line to Port Arthur failed. Soon after the French had obtained their concession, however, the Port Arthur lease was granted, and so the Wi-ju-Seoul line dropped for the time from sight. The Japanese were building a line southwards from Seoul to Fusan, which would make



Photograph by]

THE PASSING OF THE OLD : A RUINED GATEWAY IN SOUTH-EASTERN KOREA.

[F. A. McKenzie.

it possible to travel from Japan to the Korean capital in less than twenty-four hours.

Many foreigners were now doing business in the country. British, American, and Continental financiers had obtained mining concessions. An active American house, Messrs. Collbran and Bostwick, established itself in Seoul, and started several big enterprises. There were many signs of undoubted progress. More schools were started, and a Government hospital was established. Diplomatic relations had for some time been maintained with various foreign Powers, although the Korean Ministers abroad often found it difficult to draw their salaries. Electric light works were opened in Seoul, and an electric tramway laid down; the police were put into modern uniform, and the army was supplied with modern weapons, and drilled on modern lines. Korea entered the postal union, and telegraph lines, mainly under Japanese control, were in working order. In Seoul itself many outstanding features of the old life had by now disappeared. Signal fires were no longer lit on the hills, nor were the city gates closed at sunset. Great public buildings in foreign style had arisen in the capital; several native newspapers flourished, and Christianity obtained a great and growing hold in many districts, especially to the north, and had a profound effect on the lives of the people. Cities like Ping-yang and Sun-chon were centres of a movement as remarkable as any in the annals of modern Christian propagandism.

Undoubtedly much still remained that was very bad indeed. The Emperor had never shown the

(same strength of mind since the murder of his wife. He was more and more at the mercy of the palace cliques and ambitious Ministers. In the early nineties he allowed one man, Yi Yong Ik, to obtain predominance. Yi Yong Ik was the coolie who had helped the Queen to escape in the great rising of 1882. His advance since then had been meteoric, and by 1902 he had secured almost absolute power. Tall, broad-shouldered, and commanding in appearance, knowing his own mind and of domineering temper, he swept to one side the feeble and vacillating hangers-on of the Court. Having been a poor man himself, he knew every trick of the poor in avoiding taxation, and he could squeeze more out of a district than any of his rivals. Under him the people were more harshly governed, and the Imperial Treasuries were fuller than for long before. He was hated from end to end of the country, but it must be admitted that his rule was not wholly bad. He started new enterprises and encouraged certain forms of industrial activity, especially when they promised any extra profit to the Crown.

A growing number of educated and foreign-trained Koreans of the better classes sought for genuine reform. Some threw themselves into the hands of the Japanese, hoping to accomplish under Japan what their Government would not do alone. Reform, however, was constantly checked by the removal of good officials, and by periodical ferments in the country. Secret societies in rural districts maintained temporary uprisings, winter by winter. Really conscientious officials rarely remained long in office,

for neither Japan nor Russia desired to see Korea become independently and by herself efficient. I have the best reason for believing that some, at least, of the uprisings in rural districts were promoted and indirectly led by men other than Koreans.

It would be easy to show the ridiculous side of the transformation. For instance, the Korean Navy had one ship, which was good for nothing; it also had, if I remember rightly, thirty-nine admirals. When the electric tramway was first opened in Seoul, the drivers and conductors were greatly hindered because coolies constantly slept in the roadways, and used the rails as pillows. The conductors became quite expert in throwing these men off the track. It is said—although I cannot guarantee the truth of this story—that a number of high officials presented a petition to the Emperor protesting against the action of the tramway company. The petitioners pointed out that sleep is natural for man, and that to disturb sleep suddenly is injurious. They therefore begged the Emperor to issue a command to the tramway drivers that when they came upon a man sleeping across the track, they should stop their cars and wait until he awoke.

One or two people sleeping in this manner on the line were run over and killed. Thereupon a mob rose, destroyed a tramcar and nearly killed the driver. The leaders were arrested and brought before a city judge. When asked what excuse they had, the leader spoke out vigorously. "Our fathers have told us," he said, "that we must on no account disturb the stone tortoise which sleeps outside our

city gates." (This stone tortoise is a symbolic and ancient memorial near Seoul). "They told us that once the tortoise awakes, great troubles will happen to our country. Now the hissing of these electric cars will awaken the tortoise, and we are not going to have it. The cars must stop!"

The Japanese had, by the early part of the new century, considerable settlements in Seoul, in Chemulpho, in Fusan, and elsewhere. The prudence of Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Minister, was to some extent counteracted by the conduct of many of these immigrants. A friendly critic, writing on the matter in 1901, said:—

"Now, it is well known how the Japanese of the lower class treat Koreans of the same class, even under present conditions. Every foreigner has seen it and understands very well that this one thing does more to prevent cordial relations between Koreans and Japanese than any other. The Japanese Government acts with the utmost wisdom in carefully scrutinising every Japanese who proposes to come to Korea, and the removal of this check would be a severe blow to good order and a fatal bar to the growth of friendly relations. An eye-witness of the events in Song-do two years ago tells us how the Japanese went into the ginseng fields and literally helped themselves to the valuable roots, and what is more, the Japanese police who were sent to that place actually connived with and protected the Japanese thieves in this wanton spoliation. No, it is absolutely necessary that the Japanese Government hold such men in check, or the results

will be most deplorable both for the Koreans and for the Japanese in this country. We fully sympathise with Japanese efforts to develop the wealth of Korea, and believe that no others are so well prepared to do it as they, and it is for this very reason that we strongly favour every regulation which would tend to prevent bitter feeling between Koreans and Japanese."

As time went on it became more and more clear that the struggle between Russia and Japan over Korea was not yet ended. The Russians, under M. Pavloff, carried on a somewhat aggressive campaign in Seoul itself, and secured the co-operation of Yi Yong Ik. When Japan put forward one claim, Russia advanced another. Thus, in 1902, the Russian Minister told the Foreign Office that as Korea had granted Japan the right to lay telegraph cables along her shores, Russia would expect to receive permission to connect the Korean telegraphs in the north with the Siberian system at Vladivostock. Russia obtained a timber concession on the River Yalu, and laid telegraph wires and built up a Russian station at Masampo on the Korean side of the river. This station was practically a cavalry depôt, and was occupied, despite protests, by Russian troops.

The year 1903 found Korea the centre of a very interesting situation. Russia had aroused serious alarm, especially among English and American people, by her determined and exclusive policy in the Far East. She had practically seized Manchuria, although she did not attempt, outside the Liaotung Peninsula, to interfere with local administration there.

Her forces were steadily, and apparently irresistibly, advancing upon Korea itself, and it seemed only a question of time before at least Northern Korea must become Russian. The hostile action of Russian representatives in Mongolia in dealing with Protestant missionaries there had enlisted the missionary forces of England against Russia. The commercial methods of her Eastern officials had created the bitterest opposition among English and American merchants. As the Russians advanced everything possible was done by them to promote their own trading interests at the cost of the foreigners. While it is true that no hostile tariff was instituted by the Russians in Manchuria, it is yet undeniable that they manipulated freight rates on the China Eastern Railway, so as to bar foreign manufactures. The orgies of the officials at Port Arthur and Vladivostock, the drunken gaiety of the great military settlements there, the doings of the contractors, the greedy and immoral crowds attracted by the new *régime*, all had their effect on Western opinion. The West saw the sordid side of it all. Russia, for the moment, appeared as the panderer, the corrupter, and the foe. Men forgot the splendid energy and great foresight shown in the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway and in the creation of the Pacific coast provinces. The finer sides of the Russian character, the kindness, the good-humour, the solidity, and the long endurance, were for the moment hidden from sight. Every tale that could tell against Russia was repeated broadcast. Every incident that showed the unfavourable side of her commercial policy was shouted aloud.



Photograph by]

JAPANESE TROOPS DETRAINING TO ATTACK KOREAN REBELS.

[F. A. McKenzie.

Unfortunately, there was all too much lying on the surface ready at hand for the critics. Russia was presenting her foes with a rod with which to scourge her.

While Russia in the East was thus displaying herself to the world in an aspect that created at once fear and repulsion, Japan showed us her best. The efficiency and self-restraint of the Japanese troops, who formed part of the allied army in the Boxer uprising of 1900, astonished the world. Their courage, their admirable organisation, and their discipline were commented on by military experts and correspondents of many lands. In 1902 Japan stepped to a place among the Great Powers by securing an alliance with England. Her statesmen announced that they stood for the independence of Korea and for the Open Door. Russia was for exclusive trading privileges; Japan was for equal opportunities for all nations. Russia ignored English and American opinion; Japan took every direct and indirect opportunity of placating it. Paid agents lectured English audiences upon the beauties and glories of Nippon. A careful and clever press propaganda was initiated, and books and articles of all kinds, from grave, political treatises to light studies, all singing the glories of Japan, were encouraged.

Japan succeeded in creating an atmosphere favourable to herself, and it is but justice to admit she could not have done so but for the fact that many of her doings at that time redounded to her credit. Month by month, too, she was increasing her fighting

strength. The tens of millions obtained from China had been devoted to a scheme of military and naval expansion. Russia's great surface show of might concealed unsuspected and overwhelming sources of weakness. Japan, the second-rate Asiatic Power of yesterday, was building up for herself ships and fighting armies better than any on the Pacific.

The Japanese now felt themselves strong enough to force the pace. Their hour of revenge was coming. They chose Korea as the main issue of their quarrel, and when Russia proceeded, in 1903, to occupy the territory around Masampo, Japan spoke out in unmistakable terms. On August 12, 1903, the Japanese Government formally demanded of Russia a mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea, and to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those two countries. It further demanded reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea and Russia's special railway enterprises in Manchuria, and recognition by Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance to Korea in the interests of reform and good government there.

The Russians, in reply, asked for a guarantee that Korea should not be used by Japan for strategical purposes. They particularly demanded the preservation of full freedom of navigation through the Straits of Korea, and they wished a definite pledge that Japan would erect no fortifications in the Peninsula. The Russians were no doubt willing to hand Korea over to Japan for commercial and

political, but not military, purposes, on condition that Japan did not interfere with them in Manchuria. St. Petersburg refused to be hurried, and Russian officials in the Far East laughed to scorn the idea that Japan would dare to attack their great nation. Korea despatched a formal declaration of neutrality to the Powers and thought that she had made herself safe.

The end is known to all men. On February 10, 1904, the Emperor of Japan, "sitting on the same throne occupied by the same dynasty from time immemorial," formally declared war against Russia. His main reasons, as stated in the declaration of war, were the threatened Russian absorption of Manchuria and the consequent imperilment of the integrity of Korea.

The Japanese Government, in an official communication sent out at the time to the Powers, repeated, in the most solemn and formal manner, that its purpose was to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Korea and to uphold the policy of the Open Door and equal opportunities for all nations.

Even before the declaration of war had been issued, on the evening of February 8th, a Japanese fleet approached the harbour of Chemulpho, landed troops there, and next day fought and destroyed two Russian warships in the harbour. Those of us who stood on the frozen shores on that cold February night, looking at the trim and alert Japanese infantry, their figures revealed by the glowing coal and paraffin fires on the landing-stage, knew that the old history of Korea was over and that a new era had begun.

CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW ERA

ON the same day that the battle of Chemulpho was fought between the Japanese and Russian warships, Japanese troops took possession of the city of Seoul, and surrounded the palace of the Emperor. The Russian Minister, M. Pavloff, was made a semi-prisoner in his own house, and a few days later was conducted with every show of courtesy to the coast. A new treaty between Japan and Korea, probably drawn up in advance, was signed—the Emperor being ordered to consent without hesitation or alteration—and Japan began her work as the open protector of Korea. The Korean Government now promised to place full confidence in Japan, and to follow her lead; and Japan pledged herself, “in a spirit of firm friendship, to ensure the safety and repose” of the Korean Imperial house, and definitely guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of the country. Korea further promised to give Japan every facility for military operations during war.

The pro-Russian officials around the Emperor were naturally much alarmed. At first it seemed to them

impossible that war had begun on their soil, and that the Japanese had driven the Russians out. A day or two before the landing of the Japanese, Yi Yong Ik, the Prime Minister, in the course of a conversation with myself, emphatically declared his confident belief that Korea would not be mixed up in any Russo-Japanese conflict. "Let Russia and Japan fight," he said, "Korea will take no share in their fighting. Our Emperor has issued a declaration of neutrality, and by that we will abide. If our neutrality is broken, the Powers will act without being asked, and will protect us."

The Japanese at first behaved with great moderation. The officials who had been hostile to them were left unpunished, and some were quickly employed in the Japanese service. The troops marching northwards maintained rigid discipline, and treated the people well. Food that was taken was paid for at fair prices, and the thousands of labourers who were pressed into the army service as carriers were rewarded with a liberality and promptitude which left them surprised. The Japanese rates of payment were so high that they materially affected the labour market. Mr. Hayashi did everything he could to reassure the Korean Emperor, and repeated promises were given that Japan desired nothing else than the good of Korea and the strengthening of the Korean nation. The Marquis Ito was soon afterwards sent to Seoul on a special mission from the Mikado, and he repeated and reaffirmed the declarations of friendship and help even more emphatically than the Resident Minister.

All this was not without effect upon the Korean mind. The people of the north had learnt to dislike the Russians, because of their lack of discipline and want of restraint. They had been alienated in particular by occasional interference with Korean women by the Russian soldiers. I travelled largely throughout the northern regions in the early days of the war, and everywhere I heard from the people during the first few weeks nothing but expressions of friendship to the Japanese. The coolies and farmers were friendly because they hoped that Japan would modify the oppression of the native magistrates. A large section of better-class people, especially those who had received some foreign training, were sympathetic, because they credited Japan's promises and had been convinced by old experience that no far-reaching reforms could come to their land without foreign aid. As victory followed victory, however, the attitude of the Japanese grew less kindly. A large number of petty tradesmen followed the army, and these showed none of the restraint of the military. They travelled about, sword in hand, taking what they wished and doing as they pleased. Then the army cut down the rate of pay for coolies, and, from being overpaid, the native labourers were forced to toil for half their ordinary earnings. The military, too, gradually began to acquire a more domineering air. It was enough for any man in the north to be suspected of holding intercourse with the Russians, for his death to follow, and follow quickly. The Japanese, themselves past-masters in the art of espionage, were the

most rigid suppressors of attempts to spy upon their own doings. There is little doubt that many people were unjustly put to death in this way. A man who had Russian money on him was at once dealt with as a spy. This, however, was nothing more than might have been expected during the strain of war.

In Seoul itself a definite line of policy was being pursued. The Korean Government had employed a number of foreign advisers. These were steadily eliminated; some of them were paid up for the full time of their engagements and sent off, and others were told that their agreements would not be renewed. Numerous Japanese advisers were brought in, and, step by step, the administration was Japanised. This process was hastened by a supplementary agreement concluded in August, when the Korean Emperor practically handed the control of administrative functions over to the Japanese. He agreed to engage a Japanese financial adviser, to reform the currency, to reduce his army, to adopt Japanese military and educational methods, and eventually to trust the foreign relations to Japan. One of the first results of this new agreement was that Mr. (now Baron) Megata was given control of the Korean finances. He quickly brought extensive and, on the whole, admirable changes into the currency. Under the old methods, Korean money was among the worst in the world. The famous gibe of a British Consul in an official report, that the Korean coins might be divided into good, good counterfeits, bad counterfeits, and counterfeits so bad that they can only be passed

off in the dark, was by no means an effort of imagination. In the days before the war it was necessary, when one received any sum of money, to employ an expert to count over the coins, and put aside the worst counterfeits. The old nickels were so cumbersome that a very few pounds' worth of them formed a heavy load for a pony. Mr. Megata changed all this, and put the currency on a sound basis, naturally not without some temporary trouble, but certainly with permanent benefit to the country.

The next great step in the Japanese advance was the acquirement of the entire Korean postal and telegraph system. This was taken over, despite Korean protests. More and more Japanese gendarmes were brought in and established themselves everywhere. They started to control all political activity. Men who protested against Japanese action were arrested and imprisoned, or driven abroad. A notorious pro-Japanese society, the Il Chin Hoi, was fostered by every possible means, it being said that, for a time, the members received direct payments through Japanese sources. The payment at one period was put at 50 sen (1s.) a day. Notices were posted in Seoul that no one could organise a political society unless the Japanese headquarters consented, and no one could hold a meeting for discussing affairs without permission, and without having it guarded by Japanese police. All letters and circulars issued by political societies were first to be submitted to the headquarters. Those who offended made themselves punishable by martial law.

Gradually the hand of Japan became heavier and

heavier. Little aggravating changes were made. The Japanese military authorities decreed that Japanese time should be used for all public work, and they changed the names of the towns from Korean to Japanese. Martial law was now enforced with the utmost rigidity. Scores of thousands of Japanese coolies poured into the country, and spread abroad, acting in a most oppressive way. These coolies, who had been kept strictly under discipline in their own land, here found themselves masters of a weaker people. The Korean magistrates dared not punish them, and the few Japanese residents, scattered in the provinces, would not. The coolies were poor, uneducated, strong, and with the inherited brutal traditions of generations of their ancestors who had looked upon force and strength as supreme right. They went through the country like a plague. If they wanted a thing they took it. If they fancied a house, they turned the resident out. They beat, they outraged, they murdered in a way and on a scale of which it is difficult for any white man to speak with moderation. Koreans were flogged to death for offences that did not deserve a sixpenny fine. They were shot for mere awkwardness. Men were dispossessed of their homes by every form of guile and trickery. It has been my lot to hear from Koreans themselves and from white men living in the districts, hundreds upon hundreds of incidents of this time, all to the same effect. The outrages were allowed to pass unpunished and unheeded. The Korean who approached the office of a Japanese resident

to complain was thrown out, as a rule, by the underlings.

One act on the part of the Japanese surprised most of those who knew them best. In Japan itself opium-smoking is prohibited under the heaviest penalties, and elaborate precautions are taken to shut opium in any of its forms out of the country. Strict anti-opium laws were also enforced in Korea under the old administration. The Japanese, however, now permitted numbers of their people to travel through the interior of Korea selling morphia to the natives. In the north-west in particular this caused quite a wave of morphia-mania.

The Japanese had evidently set themselves to acquire possession of as much Korean land as possible. The military authorities staked out large portions of the finest sites in the country, the river-lands near Seoul, the lands around Ping-yang, great districts to the north, and fine strips all along the railway. Hundreds of thousands of acres were thus acquired. A nominal sum was paid as compensation to the Korean Government—a sum that did not amount to one-twentieth part of the real value of the land. The people who were turned out received, in many cases, nothing at all, and, in others, one-tenth to one-twentieth of the fair value. The land was seized by the military, nominally for purposes of war. Within a few months large parts of it were being resold to Japanese builders and shopkeepers, and Japanese settlements were growing up on them. This theft of land was one of the most outrageous tyrannies possible to imagine



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

THE APPEAL TO THE CROSS, YAN-GUN.

on a weaker nation. It beggared thousands of formerly prosperous people.

The Japanese Minister pushed forward, in the early days of the war, a scheme of land appropriation that would have handed two-thirds of Korea over at a blow to a Japanese concessionaire, a Mr. Nagamori, had it gone through. Under this scheme all the waste lands of Korea, which included all unworked mineral lands, were to be given to Mr. Nagamori nominally for fifty years, but really on a perpetual lease, without any payment or compensation, and with freedom from taxation for some time. Mr. Nagamori was simply a cloak for the Japanese Government in this matter. The comprehensive nature of the request stirred even the foreign representatives in Seoul to action. A wave of indignation swept over the nation, and for the moment the Japanese had to abandon the scheme.

It may be asked why the Korean people did not make vigorous protests against the appropriation of their land. They did all they could, as can be seen by the "Five Rivers" case. One part of the Japanese policy was to force loans upon the Korean Government. On one occasion it was proposed that Japan should lend Korea 2,000,000 yen. The residents in a prosperous district near Seoul, the "Five Rivers," informed the Emperor that if he wanted money, they would raise it and so save them the necessity of borrowing from foreigners. Soon afterwards these people were all served with notice to quit, as their land was wanted by the Japanese military authorities.

The district contained, it was said, about 15,000 houses. The inhabitants protested, and finally a large number of them went as a deputation into Seoul, and demanded to see the Minister for Home Affairs. They were met by a Japanese policeman, who was soon reinforced by about twenty others, and these refused to allow the people forward. In a few minutes police and mob were freely fighting. Many of the Koreans were wounded, some of them severely, and finally, in spite of a stubborn resistance, they were driven back. Afterwards a mixed force of Japanese police and soldiers went down to their district, and firing blank cartridges, drove them from their villages.

The foreign protests began now to be more and more frequent, and many Europeans and Americans who were most strongly sympathetic with Japan at the beginning, veered over to an attitude of criticism and semi-hostility. Papers like the *Korea Review*, which had at first been outspokenly friendly, began more and more to question. "We have consistently upheld the Japanese in their opposition to Russian intrigue in the Far East," wrote the editor of the *Korea Review*. "Japan is doing a splendid work and is fitting herself to do a still greater work in this region. She probably aspires to be a leader of opinion in this part of the world, and to bring her influence to bear upon China for the renovation of that enormous mass of humanity. That is a much larger work than the mere absorption of a little corner of the

Far East like Korea; but if Japan breaks her solemn pledges to Korea and continues to treat this people as she is now doing, she is sure to injure herself in the eyes of the world. Japan is fighting Russia because of the latter's broken promises in Manchuria, but if Japan herself breaks the promises she has made to Korea, how can she gain the countenance and acquiescence of the Western Powers in any plan for large work in the rehabilitation of China? The best thing for Japan, from the merely selfish standpoint, would be to clear her skirts of all suspicion of double-dealing with Korea, to give this people even-handed justice, to visit swift and exemplary punishment on any Japanese subject who treats a Korean less justly than he would a fellow-Japanese."

The Japanese brought over among their many advisers, one foreigner—an American, Mr. Stevens—who had for some time served in the Japanese Foreign Office. Mr. Stevens was nominally in the employment of the Korean Government, but really he was, and is, a more thorough-going servant of Japan than many Japanese themselves. Two foreigners, whose positions seemed fairly established, were greatly in the way of the new rulers. One was Dr. Allen, the American Minister at Seoul. Dr. Allen had shown himself to be an independent and impartial representative of his country. He was very friendly to the Japanese cause, but he did not think it necessary to shut his eyes to the darker sides of their administration. This led to his down-

fall. He took opportunity on one occasion to tell his Government some unpalatable truths. Influence against him was employed in a subtle and delicate way, and it was implied that he was not wholly a *personâ gratia* to the Japanese authorities. In consequence he was very summarily and somewhat discourteously recalled, greatly to the surprise and indignation of the American community in Korea. The next victim was Mr. McLeavy Brown, the Chief Commissioner of Customs. Mr. Brown had done everything possible at first to work with the Japanese, but later there came conflicts of authority between him and Mr. Megata. Negotiations were entered into with the British authorities, and in the end Mr. Brown received his *congé*. When the Russians had tried to turn Mr. Brown away, they were met by the assembling of a British fleet in Chemulpho Harbour ; when the Japanese tried it, their act passed almost without comment, save from those well acquainted with the country. Mr. Brown was too loyal and self-sacrificing to dispute the ruling, and he submitted in silence.

Revisiting the interior of Korea in the summer of 1906, I saw much that appalled me. I quote here some of my personal impressions as written at the time :—

“When I first heard these charges from the Koreans I naturally suspected exaggeration. I talked the matter over with the leading Japanese, but these, while partly admitting some of the complaints, claimed that they were past—temporary wrongs incidental to war time—and that all is



Photograph by]

PUNISHMENT IN KOREA UNDER THE JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION : PRISONERS—MEN AND A WOMAN—
OUT OF ONE CELL, PING-YANG.

[F. A. McKeizic.

going right now. I found, however, when I went into the country, too many new cases to enable me to accept this view.

“I questioned the European and American residents, and compared notes with many scores of them. Diplomats, missionaries, merchants, doctors, and teachers all told me practically the same tale, and that tale elaborated and confirmed the Korean case. I say all, but that is not quite accurate. I found four white men who defended the Japanese policy. One was an American official in the Japanese service, and the other three were tradesmen doing considerable business with the Japanese authorities.

“Apart from these four, the attitude was generally this: ‘We are no more pro-Russian than ever we were,’ the people would say. ‘We believe in the splendid future before Japan if she only will rise to it. But the Japanese doings in Korea during the past two years have been so bad that we cannot keep silence.’

“I made great efforts to find an independent white man who would stand up for the Japanese policy. At last I thought I had found one in an American missionary doctor, living in the interior, who last year wrote forcibly and eloquently for Japan. Alas! I came to see the doctor at an unfortunate moment. Some Japanese soldiers had only the previous day invaded the home of one of his chief native preachers, and had badly beaten the preacher when he attempted to stop them from penetrating into his women’s quarter. Soldiers had seized the home of an elderly servant of the doctor not many days before. His

Korean neighbours were suffering because of the seizure of their lands. I heard no defence of Japan there.

“The barbarities of the Korean courts and prisons still remain unchecked. My attention was called to the state of the prisons, and I visited two of them. In the first, at Ping-yang, I found eighteen men and one woman confined in one cell. Several of the men were fastened to the ground by wooden stocks. The prisoners were emaciated, and their bodies showed plain signs of horrible disease. Their clothing was of the poorest, the cell was indescribably filthy, and the prisoners were confined in it, without exercise and without employment, year after year. One man had been in the cell for six years.

“The second prison, Sun-chon, was much worse. In the inner room there—so dark that for some moments I could see nothing—I found three men fastened flat on the ground, their heads and feet in stocks and their hands tied together. The room had no light or ventilation, save from a small hole in the wall. The men’s backs were fearfully scarred with cuts from beatings. Their arms were cut to the bone in many places by the ropes that had been tightly bound around them, and the wounds thus made were suppurating freely. The upper parts of the limbs were swollen; great weals and blisters could be seen on their flesh. One man’s eyes were closed, and the sight gone, heavy suppuration oozing from the closed lids. Presumably the eyes had been knocked in by blows. The men had lain thus confined without moving for days. I had them brought out into the

sunshine. It was difficult work; one of them had already largely lost the use of his limbs, owing to their contraction. They were all starved and so broken that they had not even spirit to plead. The place was the nearest approach to hell I have ever seen.

“While in Japan, before my present visit to Korea, I had the privilege of a long interview with the Marquis Ito, the Resident-General and head of the Japanese administration. The Marquis Ito is, as all the world knows, the greatest and most famous of the older statesmen of Japan. His coming to Korea when he did was an act of splendid self-sacrifice.

“As the Marquis unfolded his plans for the improvement of Korea my heart rose. There was to be reform, justice, and conciliation. Any mistakes in the past were to be remedied. ‘I feel that I stand midway between the Koreans and my own people to see justice done to both,’ the Marquis declared.

“Standing in the cell at Sun-chon I recalled those words, and despite the strength, sincerity, and high purpose of the Marquis, they seemed little better than a hollow mockery.”¹

Lest it should be thought that I have allowed personal sympathy with the Korean people to colour my statement of their grievances, I would appeal to the evidence of a witness strongly and consistently pro-Japanese—Mr. George Kennan. As all who were behind the scenes to any extent in Japan at the period during and following the war are aware, the Japanese authorities had no abler or more powerful

¹ London *Daily Mail*, September 8, 1906.

advocate in the Press of America than this writer. Mr. Kennan's great strength lay in his unquestionable sincerity, and in the influence he possessed in America, thanks to his former writings on Siberia.

In the late summer of 1905 Mr. Kennan visited Korea and wrote some articles on the Korean question in the New York *Outlook*. He strongly supported the Japanese cause in the Hermit Kingdom, and emphatically condemned the corruption and weakness of the Korean Government and nation. But when Mr. Kennan came down to actual administrative details, he could not shut his eyes to plain facts. He admitted that the Japanese "have not displayed in that field (Korea) anything like the intelligent prevision, the conspicuous ability and the remarkable capacity for prearrangement that they have shown in the arena of war."

After an outspoken condemnation of the Nagamori scheme, and of the employment by the Japanese of some of the worst of the old Korean officials, Mr. Kennan went on:—

"Having disappointed expectation by failing to reform the Korean Civil Service, and having irritated the people by proposing to turn over a large part of the Empire to a foreign syndicate, the Japanese authorities made a third mistake in allowing their own countrymen to swarm into Korea by tens of thousands before they had provided any legal machinery for the adjudication and settlement of disputes between the immigrants and the natives. In Japan, as in every other country, there are good men and bad men, men who are fair and honest and

men who are reckless and unscrupulous. When a new and undeveloped country is suddenly thrown open to business enterprise, it is likely to be invaded first by speculators, exploiters, and adventurers, who expect to fish in troubled waters, and who think that they can make big profits by taking early advantage of native ignorance and inexperience. Such has been the case in some of our own colonial dependencies, and such was the case in Korea. The Japanese who went there first were largely men who wanted to get rich quickly, and who had no scruples with regard to methods. Considerations of Imperial welfare and policy were nothing to them, and any action seemed to them permissible if it did not land them in jail. Many of them regarded the rights of the Koreans as some of us regard the rights of the Indians, and when the two nationalities came into conflict the Koreans invariably went to the wall. The immigrants not only cheated the natives when they had the opportunity, but, relying upon the absence of legal control, often ill-treated them personally and deprived them of their property by force. The Japanese authorities, of course, disapproved of this, and did what they could to prevent it; but fifty or sixty thousand immigrants scattered over a country more than twice as big as Indiana, and almost as destitute of means of intercommunication as Alaska, are not to be controlled by half a dozen consuls; and as the victims of the ill-treatment had no protection from their own officials, and no redress in their own courts, they were practically defenceless.

“The Koreans are mostly exaggerators or bare-faced liars, by heredity and by training, and it is impossible to accept, without careful verification, the statements which they make with regard to Japanese misbehaviour ; but I am satisfied, from cases that I have investigated, and from the testimony of the Japanese themselves, that the natives have good ground for complaint. To illustrate by a few examples :—

(1) “A Japanese coolie goes to the stand of a Korean fruit-seller, eats half a yen worth of peaches or grapes, throws down five or ten sen, and walks away. The Korean dealer follows him and insists upon having the market value of the fruit consumed. The demand leads to an altercation, and at the end of it the Japanese kicks or cuffs the Korean and goes on his way, leaving the latter defrauded and insulted.

(2) “Half a dozen Japanese prospectors in the country find a piece of unowned and unoccupied land which needs only irrigation to make it valuable. They discover that they can irrigate it by changing the course of a small stream which waters the rice-field of a Korean farmer lower down, and they proceed at once to dig the necessary ditches. When the owner of the rice-field protests, they browbeat and intimidate him, and tell him that if he has a valid claim to that water privilege, he can go to the Japanese Consul and prove it.

(3) “The Korean Government, through one of its Cabinet officers, secretly sells to a Japanese syndicate the right to share equally with the Koreans in the fishing privileges on a certain stretch of coast. The

syndicate immediately assumes that this concession grants an *exclusive* right, and its employees proceed to drive away the Korean fishermen and confiscate the fish which the latter have already caught. In June, 1905, a quarrel over a transaction of this kind occurred near Masampho, and in the fight that ensued fourteen men are said to have been killed.

(4) "A Korean from the country goes to a Japanese broker in Seoul and exchanges 400 yen for Korean nickels. As the money, in the shape of nickels, is bulky, and as the Korean has no immediate use for it, he leaves it with the broker on deposit and takes a receipt. When, some time later, he calls for it, the broker assumes an air of surprise and declares that he—the depositor—has already withdrawn it. The Korean produces the receipt as evidence of the debt, and insists that if the broker had paid the money he would have taken up the voucher. The broker merely reiterates the statement that he has returned the deposit, and explains that his failure to take up the receipt was due to inadvertence. The Korean goes to the Japanese consulate with his complaint and is turned back at the door. He then gets an American missionary to accompany him, and finally succeeds in gaining admittance. The Japanese Vice-Consul, not knowing that the missionary understands the Korean language, begins to abuse the unfortunate depositor for dragging a foreigner into the case, whereupon the American explains, mildly, that he has accompanied the Korean merely because the latter has failed to get admission alone. The Vice-Consul says that he will investigate the case,

but he fails to do so and the Korean loses his money.

(5) "A Korean leases his house to a Japanese for one year, and at the expiration of that period sells it to another person. The tenant in possession refuses to move out, and defies the owner to eject him. The Japanese Consul fails to take action upon the complaint of the Korean, and the latter is virtually deprived of his property without any process of law.

(6) "A Japanese railroad contractor makes a deal with a Korean official for the services of 100 Korean coolies, who are to be paid at the rate of a yen and a half each per day. Instead of giving the money to the labourers who have earned it, the contractor hands it over to the official, who steals two-thirds of it and gives the coolies only one-third. When the latter refuse to work any longer for 50 sen a day, the official and the contractor together resort to force.

"The above are only samples of hundreds of cases in which the conflicting rights or interests of Koreans and Japanese fail of settlement for lack of adequate judicial machinery. The Japanese immigrants are not subject to the jurisdiction of Korean courts, and the Koreans cannot get justice in the Japanese consular courts, for the reason, principally, that the latter are swamped with business. In all Korea I have no doubt that there are a thousand disputes or quarrels between Koreans and Japanese every month; and it is utterly impossible for half a dozen consuls to investigate such a number of cases, or even to listen to the complaints of the injured parties. The result

is universal miscarriage of justice and a steadily growing anti-Japanese feeling throughout the peninsula. . . .

“But it is not of the Japanese immigrants alone that the Koreans complain. They assert, and undoubtedly believe, that they are often treated unfairly by the Japanese authorities. Take, for example, the disputes and grievances growing out of the expropriation of land and the employment of Korean coolies by Japanese railway companies. These corporations, or their employees, have frequently made payments for land and labour, not to the landowners and labourers, but to the Korean Government or its officials, and have trusted the latter to distribute the money equitably among the persons entitled to it. In many, if not in most, cases such distribution has not been properly or honestly made, and many Koreans consequently have been left without reimbursement for land taken and without the stipulated wages for labour performed. They naturally throw the blame for this state of affairs upon the Japanese authorities, who, they think, should either have supervised the action of the Korean officials or have compelled the railway companies to make direct payment to the coolies whom they hired and the farmers whose land they seized. Laying aside the question of equity, there can be no doubt, I think, that, as a mere matter of policy, the Japanese authorities should have made sure in every case that the Koreans actually received the money which the corporations paid. They were well aware of the incapacity and corruption of the Korean

administration, and they made, to say the least, a serious mistake in judgment when they allowed Korean officials to act as middlemen between Japanese corporations on one side and the Korean people on the other. Such a course was sure to lead to dissatisfaction and trouble.

“Take, for an example of another kind, the staking out by the Japanese military authorities of a large area of occupied and cultivated land in the suburbs of Seoul. The Koreans believe that the Japanese, in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, intend to seize all this land and evict the owners, without giving the latter adequate compensation for their houses and farms; and they protest against such injustice. I am assured, by an official who ought to be well informed, that the stakes and flags, which I myself saw, and which seemed to me to cover several square miles of inhabited and cultivated territory, were not intended to mark out the boundaries of a contemplated land-seizure, but were put up by Japanese military engineers in the working out of a strategic plan of defence. I hope and trust that such may be the case; but even if this statement be accepted, it is extremely impolitic on the part of the Japanese to allow a storm of alarm, indignation, and protest to be raised over a matter which might be settled by a few words of explanation. The anti-Japanese agitation in Korea is already threatening and serious—why increase the trouble by permitting the Korean people to think that the suburban residents of Seoul are virtually to be robbed of territory which certainly covers three or four square miles and

is said to contain more than 1,100 houses? If, on the other hand, the military authorities really intend to take possession of the land covered by the flags and stakes which I saw—if they propose to evict hundreds of families from their houses and farms and leave them to get compensation from their own Government of extortioners and robbers—such action will be not only recklessly imprudent, but in the highest degree unjust.”¹

¹ Mr. Kennan here presumably refers to the district from which the native Koreans have since been completely evicted by the Japanese.

CHAPTER XI

TREATY-MAKING AND TREATY-BREAKING

AS the summer of 1905 drew to a close, it became more and more clear that the Japanese Government, despite its many promises to the contrary, intended completely to destroy the independence of Korea. Even the Court officials were at last seriously alarmed, and set about devising means to protect themselves. The Emperor had thought that because Korean independence was provided for in treaty after treaty with the Great Powers, therefore he was safe. He had yet to learn that treaty rights, unbacked by power, are worth little more than the paper they are written upon. In particular, he trusted to a definite guarantee given by the American Government. In the treaty of 1882 it was provided that if other Powers dealt unjustly or oppressively with Korea, America would exert her good offices to bring about an amicable arrangement. A semi-official messenger, Professor Hulbert, an American educationalist in the employment of the Korean Government, was dispatched to Washington with a letter from the Emperor, calling attention to the great evils Japan was inflicting upon Korea, and

asking for American aid. The Japanese allowed Professor Hulbert to leave unhindered, but before he could present his letter to the Foreign Office at Washington, the old Korean Government was already overthrown. Professor Hulbert met with a very cold reception in Washington, for the Japanese prestige was then at its greatest. "What do you expect us to do?" senators asked him, when he told them of what was happening. "Do you really believe that America ought to go to war with Japan over Korea?" So far from pleading the case of Korea with Japan, America was the first to fall in with and give its open assent to the destruction of the old administration. On the first intimation from Japan it agreed, without inquiry and with almost indecent haste, to withdraw its Minister from Seoul.

Early in November the Marquis Ito arrived in Seoul as Special Envoy from the Emperor of Japan, and he brought with him a letter from the Mikado, saying that he hoped the Korean Emperor would follow the directions of the Marquis, and come to an agreement with him, as it was essential for the maintenance of peace in the Far East that he should do so. On November 15th Marquis Ito was received in formal audience, and there presented a series of demands, drawn up in treaty form. These were, in the main, that the foreign relations of Korea should now be placed entirely in the hands of Japan, the Korean diplomatic service be brought to an end, and the Ministers recalled from foreign Courts. The Japanese Minister to Korea was to become supreme administrator to the country under the Emperor,

and the Japanese Consuls in the different districts were to be made Residents, with the powers of supreme local governors. In other words, Korea was entirely to surrender her independence as a State, and was to hand over control of her internal administration to the Japanese. The Emperor met the request with a blank refusal. The conversation between the two, as reported at the time, was as follows.

The Emperor said—

“Although I have seen in the newspapers various rumours that Japan proposed to assume a protectorate over Korea, I did not believe them, as I placed faith in Japan’s adherence to the promise to maintain the independence of Korea which was made by the Emperor of Japan at the beginning of the war and embodied in a treaty between Korea and Japan. When I heard you were coming to my country I was glad, as I believed your mission was to increase the friendship between our countries, and your demands have therefore taken me entirely by surprise.”

To which Marquis Ito rejoined—

“These demands are not my own; I am only acting in accordance with a mandate from my Government, and if Your Majesty will agree to the demands which I have presented it will be to the benefit of both nations and peace in the East will be assured for ever. Please, therefore, consent quickly.”

The Emperor replied—

“From time immemorial it has been the custom of the rulers of Korea, when confronted with

questions so momentous as this, to come to no decision until all the Ministers, high and low, who hold or have held office, have been consulted, and the opinion of the scholars and the common people have been obtained, so that I cannot now settle this matter myself."

Said Marquis Ito again—

"Protests from the people can easily be disposed of, and for the sake of the friendship between the two countries Your Majesty should come to a decision at once."

To this the Emperor replied—

"Assent to your proposal would mean the ruin of my country, and I will therefore sooner die than agree to them."

The conference lasted nearly five hours, and then the Marquis had to leave, having accomplished nothing. He at once tackled the members of the Cabinet, individually and collectively. They were all summoned to the Japanese Legation on the following day, and a furious debate began, starting at three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasting till late at night. The Ministers had sworn to one another beforehand that they would not yield. In spite of threats, cajoleries, and proffered bribes, they remained steadfast. The arguments used by Marquis Ito and Mr. Hayashi, apart from personal ones, were twofold. The first was that it was essential for the peace of the Far East that Japan and Korea should be united. The second appealed to racial ambition. The Japanese painted to the Koreans a picture of a great united East, with the

Mongol nations all standing firm and as one against the white man, who would reduce them to submission if he could.¹ The Japanese were determined to give the Cabinet no time to regather its strength. On the 17th of November, another conference began at two in the afternoon at the Legation, but equally without result. Mr. Hayashi then advised the Ministers to go to the palace and open a Cabinet Meeting in the presence of the Emperor. This was done, the Japanese joining in.

All this time the Japanese Army had been making a great display of military force around the palace. All the Japanese troops in the district had been for days parading the streets and open places fronting the Imperial residence. The field-guns were out, and the men were fully armed. They marched, counter-marched, stormed, made feint attacks, occupied the gates, put their guns in position, and did everything, short of actual violence, that they could to demonstrate to the Koreans that they were able to enforce their demands. To the Cabinet Ministers themselves, and to the Emperor, all this display had a sinister and terrible meaning. They could not forget the night in 1895, when the Japanese soldiers had paraded around another palace,

¹ As it may be questioned whether the Japanese would use such arguments, I may say that the account of the interview was given to me by one of the participating Korean Ministers, and that he dealt at great length with the pro-Asian policy suggested there. I asked him why he had not listened and accepted. He replied that he knew what such arguments meant. The unity of Asia when spoken of by Japanese meant the supreme autocracy of their country.

and when their picked bullies had forced their way inside and murdered the Queen. Japan had done this before; why should she not do it again? Not one of those now resisting the will of Dai Nippon but saw the sword in front of his eyes, and heard in imagination a hundred times during the day the rattle of the Japanese bullets.

That evening Japanese soldiers, with fixed bayonets, entered the courtyard of the palace and stood near the apartment of the Emperor. Marquis Ito now arrived, accompanied by General Hasegawa, Commander of the Japanese army in Korea, and a fresh attack was started on the Cabinet Ministers. The Marquis demanded an audience of the Emperor. The Emperor refused to grant it, saying that his throat was very bad, and he was in great pain. The Marquis then made his way into the Emperor's presence, and personally requested an audience. The Emperor still refused. "Please go away and discuss the matter with the Cabinet Ministers," he said.

Thereupon Marquis Ito went outside to the Ministers. "Your Emperor has commanded you to confer with me and settle this matter," he declared. A fresh conference was opened. The presence of the soldiers, the gleaming of the bayonets outside, the harsh words of command that could be heard through the windows of the palace buildings, were not without their effect. The Ministers had fought for days and they had fought alone. No single foreign representative had offered them help or counsel. They saw submission or destruction before them.

"What is the use of our resisting?" said one. "The Japanese always get their way in the end." Signs of yielding began to appear. The acting Prime Minister, Han Kew Sul, jumped to his feet and said he would go and tell the Emperor of the talk of traitors. Han Kew Sul was allowed to leave the room and then was gripped by the Japanese Secretary of the Legation, thrown into a side-room and threatened with death. Even Marquis Ito went out to him to persuade him. "Would you not yield," the Marquis said, "if your Emperor commanded you?" "No," said Han Kew Sul, "not even then!"

This was enough. The Marquis at once went to the Emperor. "Han Kew Sul is a traitor," he said. "He defies you, and declares that he will not obey your commands."

Meanwhile the remaining Ministers waited in the Cabinet Chamber. Where was their leader, the man who had urged them all to resist to death? Minute after minute passed, and still he did not return. Then a whisper went round that the Japanese had killed him. The harsh voices of the Japanese grew still more strident. Courtesy and restraint were thrown off. "Agree with us and be rich, or oppose us and perish." Pak Che Sun, the Foreign Minister, one of the best and most capable of Korean statesmen, was the last to yield. But even he finally gave way. In the early hours of the morning commands were issued that the seal of State should be brought from the Foreign Minister's apartment, and a treaty should be signed. Here another difficulty arose. The custodian of the seal had received orders in

advance that, even if his master commanded, the seal was not to be surrendered for any such purpose. When telephonic orders were sent to him, he refused to bring the seal along, and special messengers had to be dispatched to take it from him by force. The Emperor himself asserts to this day that he did not consent.

The news of the signing of the treaty was received by the people with horror and indignation. Han Kew Sul, once he escaped from custody, turned on his fellow-Ministers as one distraught, and bitterly reproached them. "Why have you broken your promises?" he cried. "Why have you broken your promises?" The Ministers found themselves the most hated and despised of men. There was danger lest mobs should attack them and tear them to pieces. Pak Che Sun shrank away under the storm of execration that greeted him. On December 6th, as he was entering the palace, one of the soldiers lifted his rifle and tried to shoot him. Pak Che Sun turned back, and hurried to the Japanese Legation. There he forced his way into the presence of Mr. Hayashi, and drew a knife. "It is you who have brought me to this," he cried. "You have made me a traitor to my country." He attempted to cut his own throat, but Mr. Hayashi stopped him, and he was sent to hospital for treatment. When he recovered he was chosen by the Japanese as the new Prime Minister, Han Kew Sul being exiled and disgraced. Pak did not, however, hold office for very long, being somewhat too independent to suit his new masters.

As the news spread through the country, the people of various districts assembled, particularly in the north, and started to march southwards to die in front of the palace as a protest. Thanks to the influence of the missionaries, many of them were stopped. "It is of no use your dying in that way," the missionaries told them. "You had better live and make your country better able to hold its own." A number of leading officials, including all the surviving past Prime Ministers, and over a hundred men who had previously held high office under the Crown, went to the palace, and demanded that the Emperor should openly repudiate the treaty, and execute those Ministers who had acquiesced in it. The Emperor tried to temporise with them, for he was afraid that, if he took too openly hostile an attitude, the Japanese would punish him. The memorialists sat down in the palace buildings, refusing to move, and demanding an answer. Some of their leaders were arrested by the Japanese gendarmes, only to have others, still greater men, take their place. The store-keepers of the city put up their shutters to mark their mourning.

At last a message came from the Emperor: "Although affairs now appear to you to be dangerous, there may presently result some benefit to the nation." The gendarmes descended on the petitioners and threatened them with general arrest if they remained around the palace any longer. They moved on to a shop where they tried to hold a meeting, but they were turned out of it by the police. Min Yong Whan, their leader, a former

Minister for War and Special Korean Ambassador at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, went home. He wrote letters to his friends lamenting the state of his country, and then committed suicide. Several other statesmen did the same, while many others resigned. One native paper, the *Whang Sung Shimbun*, dared to print an exact statement of what had taken place. Its editor was promptly arrested, and thrown into prison, and the paper suppressed. Its lamentation voiced the feeling of the country :—

“When it was recently made known the Marquis Ito would come to Korea our deluded people all said, with one voice, that he is the man who will be responsible for the maintenance of friendship between the three countries of the Far East (Japan, China, and Korea), and, believing that his visit to Korea was for the sole purpose of devising good plans for strictly maintaining the promised integrity and independence of Korea, our people, from the sea-coast to the capital, united in extending to him a hearty welcome.

“But oh! How difficult is it to anticipate affairs in this world. Without warning, a proposal containing five clauses was laid before the Emperor, and we then saw how mistaken we were about the object of Marquis Ito's visit. However, the Emperor firmly refused to have anything to do with these proposals and Marquis Ito should then, properly, have abandoned his attempt and returned to his own country.

“But the Ministers of our Government, who are worse than pigs or dogs, coveting honours and

advantages for themselves, and frightened by empty threats, were trembling in every limb, and were willing to become traitors to their country and betray to Japan the integrity of a nation which has stood for 4,000 years, the foundation and honour of a dynasty 500 years old, and the rights and freedom of twenty million people.

“We do not wish to too deeply blame Pak Che Sun and the other Ministers, of whom, as they are little better than brute animals, too much was not to be expected, but what can be said of the Vice-Prime Minister, the chief of the Cabinet, whose early opposition to the proposals of Marquis Ito was an empty form devised to enhance his reputation with the people?

“Can he not now repudiate the agreement or can he not rid the world of his presence? How can he again stand before the Emperor and with what face can he ever look upon any one of his twenty million compatriots?

“Is it worth while for any of us to live any longer? Our people have become the slaves of others, and the spirit of a nation which has stood for 4,000 years, since the days of Tun Kun and Ke-ja has perished in a single night. Alas! fellow-countrymen. Alas!”

Suicides, resignations, and lamentation were of no avail. The Japanese gendarmes commanded the streets, and the Japanese soldiers, behind them, were ready to back up their will by the most unanswerable of arguments—force.

Naturally, as might have been expected by those

who know something of the character of the Japanese, every effort was made to show that there had been no breach of treaty promises. Korea was still an independent country, and the dignity of its Imperial house was still unimpaired. Japan had only brought a little friendly pressure on a weaker brother to assist him along the path of progress. Such talk pleased the Japanese, and helped them to reconcile the contrast between their solemn promises and their actions. It deceived no one else. To-day even, the Japanese papers make little or no more talk of Korean independence. "Korean independence is a farce," they say. They say it rightly.

CHAPTER XII

THE RULE OF PRINCE ITO

MARQUIS ITO was made the first Japanese Resident-General in Korea. There could have been no better choice, and no choice more pleasing to the Korean people. It is noteworthy that, although the Marquis has been the main representative of the Mikado in wresting its independence from Korea, he is yet regarded by the responsible men there with a friendliness such as few other Japanese inspire. Every one who comes in contact with him feels that, whatever the nature of the measures he is driven to adopt because of Imperial policy, he yet sincerely means well by the Korean people. The faults of his administration may be the necessary accompaniments of Japanese Imperial expansion, but his virtues are his own. It was a noble act for him to take on himself the most burdensome and exacting post that Japanese diplomacy had to offer, at a time when he might well look for the ease and dignity of the close of an honour-sated career.

The Marquis brought with him several very capable Japanese officials of high rank, and began his new



PRINCE ITO.

rule by issuing regulations fixing the position and duties of his staff. Under these, the Resident-General became in effect supreme Administrator of Korea, with power to do what he pleased. He had authority to repeal any order or measure that he considered injurious to public interests, and he could punish to the extent of not more than a year's imprisonment or not more than a 200 yen fine. This limitation of his punitive power was purely nominal, for the country was under martial law and the courts-martial had power to inflict death. Residents and Vice-Residents, of Japanese nationality, were placed over the country, acting practically as governors. The police were placed under Japanese inspectors where they were not themselves Japanese. The various departments of affairs, agricultural, commercial, and industrial, were given Japanese directors and advisers, and the power of appointing all officials, save those of the highest rank, was finally in the hands of the Resident-General. This limitation, again, was soon put on one side. Thus, the Resident-General became dictator of Korea—a dictator, however, who still conducted certain branches of local affairs there through native officials and who had to reckon with the intrigues of a Court party which he could not as yet sweep on one side.

To Japan, Korea is chiefly of importance as a strategic position for military operations on the continent of Asia and as a field for emigration. The first steps under the new administration were in the direction of perfecting communications throughout the country, so as to enable the troops to be moved

easily and rapidly from point to point. A railway had already been built from Fusan to Seoul, and another was in course of completion from Seoul to Wi-ju, thus giving a trunk line that would carry large numbers of Japanese soldiers from Japan itself to the borders of Manchuria in about thirty-six hours. A loan of 10,000,000 yen was raised on the guarantee of the Korean Customs, and a million and a half of this was spent on four main military roads, connecting some of the chief districts with the principal harbours and railway centres. Part of the cost of these was paid by the loan and part by special local taxation. It may be pointed out that these roads are military rather than industrial undertakings. The usual methods of travel and for conveying goods in the interior of Korea is by horseback and with pack-ponies. For these, the old narrow tracks served, generally speaking, very well. The new roads are finely graded, and are built in such a manner that rails can be quickly laid down on them and artillery and ammunition wagons rapidly conveyed from point to point. Another railway has been pushed forward, and is now nearing completion, from Seoul to Gensan, on the east coast.

The old Korean "Burglar Capture Office," the native equivalent to the Bow Street Runners, was abolished, as were the local police, and police administration was more and more put in the hands of special constables brought over from Japan. The Japanese military gendarmerie were gradually sent back and their places taken by civilian constables. This change was wholly for the good. The gen-

darmerie had earned a very bad reputation in country parts for harshness and arbitrary conduct. The civilian police proved themselves far better men, more conciliatory, and more just. The one complaint that may be made about this change is that it has not gone far enough. In dealing with improved police administration I would, however, except the methods of treating political offenders in Seoul itself. I heard, even as late as the autumn of 1907, amazing and incredible stories of what is being done to these. I have been unable to get positive proof, either affirmatively or otherwise, and can consequently only say that Seoul must be left out of my references.

One real improvement instituted by the Residency-General was the closer control of Japanese immigrants. Numbers of the worst offenders were laid by the heels and sent back home. The Residency officials were increased in numbers, and in some parts at least it became easier for a Korean to obtain a hearing when he had a complaint against a Japanese. The Marquis Ito spoke constantly in favour of a policy of conciliation and friendship, and after a time he succeeded in winning over the co-operation of some of the foreigners.

It became more and more clear, however, that the aim of the Japanese was nothing else than the entire absorption of the country and the destruction of every trace of Korean nationality. One of the most influential Japanese in Korea put this quite frankly to me. "You must understand that I am not expressing official views," he told me. "But if you ask me as an individual what is to be the outcome

of our policy, I can only see one end. This will take several generations, but it must come. The Korean people will be absorbed in the Japanese. They will talk our language, live our life, and be an integral part of us. There are only two ways of colonial administration. One is to rule over the people as aliens. This you English have done in India, and, therefore, your Indian Empire cannot endure. India must pass out of your rule. The second way is to absorb the people. This is what we will do. We will teach them our language, establish our institutions, and make them one with us." That is the benevolent Japanese plan; the cruder idea, more commonly entertained, is to absorb the Korean lands, place all the industry of the country in Japanese hands, and reduce the natives to the place of hewers of wood and drawers of water for their triumphant conquerors. The Japanese believes that the Korean is on a wholly different level to himself, a coward, a weakling, and a poltroon. He despises him, and treats him accordingly.

The great complaint against the Japanese officials in Korea is that they uniformly look at matters from a Japanese and not a Korean point of view. There is a wholesale system of exploitation that touches every side of Korean life. Concessions are granted to Japanese, contracts are given on the most generous terms to Japanese, and emigration laws, land laws, and general administrative measures are made solely with regard to Japanese interests. When a loan of 10,000,000 yen was raised for national improvements, the money was obtained from the Nippon Kogyo

Ginko at an issuing price of 90 yen per 100 yen bond and bearing interest at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Customs Revenue being given as security. Such terms are outrageous. A chance paragraph in the *Japan Times* informs us that "the Korean Government has to pay 250,000 yen to our postal authorities for their trouble in doing part of the internal revenue work." In other words, the Japanese first seize the Korean Post Office, turn the old Korean employés out, officer it with their own people, give a service that is not so good as the old, and then mulct the Korean nation of a heavy annual fine for their trouble. The town of Chemulpho is almost wholly a Japanese settlement, and the question of water supply there is a difficult one. The Residency-General kindly consented to spend 2,300,000 yen of the national loan in laying down waterworks for this port. That is to say, the Korean people all over the land were made to pay for the water supply of the Japanese town. I might go on with very many similar instances, great and small. There is a systematic plan of greedy exploitation.

The policy of the new administration towards foreigners has been one of gradual, but no less sure, exclusion. I deal with the results of Japanese administration upon trade in a later chapter. Everything that is possible has been done to rob the white man of whatever prestige is yet left to him. The most influential white men in Korea are the missionaries, and they have a large, enthusiastic, and growing following. Careful and deliberate attempts have been engineered to induce their converts to turn

from the lead of the English and American teachers and to throw in their lot with the Japanese. The native Press, under Japanese editorship, systematically preaches anti-white doctrines. Any one who mixes freely with the Korean people hears from them, time after time, of the principles the Japanese would fain have them learn. I have been told of this by ex-Cabinet Ministers, by young students, and even by native servants. One of my own Korean "boys" put the matter in a nutshell to me one day. He raised the question of the future of Japan in Asia, and he summarised the new Japanese doctrines very succinctly. "Master," he said to me, "Japanese man wanchee all Asia be one, with Japanese man top-side. All Japanese man wanchee this; some Korean man wanchee, most no wanchee; all Chinaman no wanchee."

It may be thought that the Japanese would at least have learnt from their experience in 1895 not to attempt to interfere with the dress or personal habits of the people. Nothing among all their blunders during the earlier period was more disastrous to them than the regulations compelling the men to cut off their top-knots. These did Japan greater harm among the common people than even the murder of the Queen. Yet no sooner had Japan established herself again than once more sumptuary regulations were issued. The first was an order against wearing white dress in winter-time. People were to attire themselves in nothing but dark-coloured garments, and those who refused to obey were coerced in many ways. The Japanese did not at once insist on a general

system of hair-cutting, but they have been bringing the greatest pressure to bear on all in any way under their authority. Court officials, public servants, magistrates, and the like, have all been commanded to cut their hair. Officials are evidently instructed to make every one who comes under their influence have his top-knot off. The Il Chin Hoi, the pro-Japanese society, has followed in the same line. European dress is being forced on those connected with the Court. The national costume, like the national language, is, if possible, to die. Ladies of the Court are ordered to dress themselves in foreign style. The poor ladies in consequence find it impossible to show themselves in any public place, for they are greeted with roars of derision.

One would imagine that the Japanese sense of humour would stop them from acting so. But then they are anything but a humorous people. Officials who are dignified and imposing in their old costumes, present the most comic of spectacles in the new. Some of the leaders of the Il Chin Hoi, known to me, look like nothing so much as a madman's copy of the most fantastic costume cartoons in *Punch*. The mistake of the Japanese is perhaps a natural one. They made their own people alter their ways in a hurry, and they fancy that other races should hasten and do likewise.

The lowered status of the white in Korea can be clearly seen by the attitude of many of the Japanese towards him. I have heard stories from friends of my own, residents in the country, quiet and in-offensive people that have made my blood boil. It

is difficult, for instance, to restrain one's indignation when a missionary lady tells you of how she was walking along the street when a Japanese soldier hustled up against her and deliberately struck her in the breast. The Roman Catholic bishop was openly insulted and struck by Japanese soldiers in his own cathedral, and nothing was done. The story of Mr. and Mrs. Weigall typifies others. Mr. Weigall is an Australian mining engineer, and was travelling up north with his wife and assistant, Mr. Taylor, and some Korean servants, in December, 1905. He had full authorisations and passports, and was going about his business in a perfectly proper manner. His party was stopped at one point by some Japanese soldiers, and treated in a fashion which it is impossible fully to describe in print. They were insulted, jabbed at with bayonets, and put under arrest. One soldier held his gun close to Mrs. Weigall and struck her full in the chest with his closed fist when she moved. The man called them by the most insulting names possible, keeping the choicest phrases for the lady. Their servants were kicked. Finally they were allowed to go away after a long delay and long exposure to bitter weather, repeated insults being hurled after them. The British authorities took up this case. There was abundant evidence, and there could be no dispute about the facts. All the satisfaction, however, that the Weigalls could obtain was a nominal apology.

Then there was the case of the Rev. Mr. McRae, a Canadian missionary living in north-eastern Korea. Mr. McRae had obtained some land for a mission



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

A JAPANESE RAILWAY GUARD ON THE SEOUL-FUSAN LINE.

station, and the Japanese military authorities there wanted it. They drove stakes into part of the property, and he thereupon represented the case to the Japanese officials, and after at least twice asking them to remove their stakes, he pulled them up himself. The Japanese waited until a fellow-missionary, who lived with Mr. McRae, had gone away on a visit, and then six soldiers entered his compound and attacked him. He defended himself so well that he finally drove them off, although he received some bad injuries, especially from the blows from one of the men's rifles. Complaint was made to the chief authorities, and, in this case, the Japanese promised to punish the officer concerned. But there have been dozens of instances affecting Europeans of all ranks, from consular officials to chance visitors. In most cases the complaints are met by a simple denial on the part of the Japanese. Even where the offence is admitted and punishment is promised, the Europeans will assure you that the men, whom it has been promised to imprison, come and parade themselves outside their houses immediately afterwards in triumph. In Korea, as in Formosa, the policy is to-day to humiliate the white man by any means and in any way.

Two regulations of the Japanese, apparently framed in the interests of the Koreans, are held by many to be a dangerous blow at their rights. New land laws have been drawn up, by which fresh title-deeds are given for the old and complicated deeds of former times. As the Koreans, however, point out, large numbers of people hold their land in such a

way that it is impossible for them to prove their right by written deeds. It is feared that, under these new measures, it will be possible to dispossess such families. Until the end of 1905 large numbers of Koreans went abroad to Honolulu and elsewhere as labourers. The Residency-General then framed new emigration laws, nominally to protect the natives, which have had the result of making the old systematic emigration impossible. I hear from all sides that the families who would fain escape the Japanese rule and establish themselves in other lands have every possible hindrance put in their way. The men of the north, at least, are well aware that they can obtain in the Russian Usuri provinces easy conditions of living, fair administration, and justice. The condition of the Koreans in Eastern Siberia, prosperous, peaceful, and contented, is an amazing contrast to that of those under Japanese rule in Korea itself.

Act after act has revealed that the Japanese consider Korea and all in it belongs to them. Do they want a thing? Then let them take it, and woe be to the man who dares to hinder them! This attitude was illustrated in an interesting fashion by a bit of vandalism on the part of Viscount Tanaka, Special Envoy from the Mikado to the Korean Emperor. When the Viscount was in Seoul, late in 1906, he was approached by a Japanese curio-dealer, who pointed out to him that there was a very famous old Pagoda in the district of P'ung-duk, a short distance from Song-do. This Pagoda was presented to Korea by the Chinese Imperial Court a thousand

years ago, and the people believed that the stones of which it was constructed possessed great curative qualities. They named it the "Medicine King Pagoda" (Yakuo-to), and its fame was known throughout the country. It was a national memorial as much as the Monument near London Bridge is a national memorial for Englishmen. Viscount Tanaka is a great curio-collector, and when he heard of this Pagoda, he longed for it. He mentioned his desire to the Korean Minister for the Imperial Household, and the Minister told him to take it if he wanted it. A few days afterwards, Viscount Tanaka, when bidding the Emperor farewell, thanked him for the gift. The Korean Emperor looked blank, and said that he did not know what the Viscount was talking about. He had heard nothing of it.

However, before long, a party of eighty Japanese, including a number of gendarmes, well armed and ready for resistance, swooped down on Song-do. They took the Pagoda to pieces and placed the stones on carts. The people of the district gathered round them, threatened them, and tried to attack them. But the Japanese were too strong. The Pagoda was conveyed in due course to Tokyo.

Such an outrage could not go unnoticed. The story of the loss spread over the country and reached the foreign Press. Defenders of the Japanese at first declared that it was an obvious and incredible lie. The *Japan Mail* in particular opened the vials of its wrath and poured them upon the head of the editor of the *Korea Daily News*—an English daily publication in Seoul—who had dared to tell the

tale. His story was "wholly incredible." "It is impossible to imagine any educated man of ordinary intelligence foolish enough to believe such a palpable lie, unless he be totally blinded by prejudice." The *Mail* discovered here again another reason for supporting its plea for the suppression of "a wholly unscrupulous and malevolent mischief-maker like the *Korea Daily News*." "The Japanese should think seriously whether this kind of thing is to be tamely suffered. In allowing such charges at the door of the Mikado's special Envoy who is also Minister of the Imperial Household, the *Korea Daily News* deliberately insults the Mikado himself. There is indeed the reflection that this extravagance will not be without compensation, since it will demonstrate conclusively, if any demonstration were needed, how completely unworthy of credence have been the slanders hitherto ventilated by the Seoul journal to bring the Japanese into odium." The *Japan Mail*, although edited by a British subject, is generally regarded as a semi-official Japanese Government organ.

There were instant demands for denials, for explanations, and for proceedings against the wicked libeller. Then it turned out that the story was true, and, in the end, the Japanese officials had to admit its truth. It was said, as an excuse, that the Resident-General had not given his consent to the theft, and that Viscount Tanaka did not intend to keep the Pagoda himself, but to present it to the Mikado. The organ of the Residency-General in Seoul, the *Seoul Press*, made the best excuse it could. "Vis-

count Tanaka," it said, "is a conscientious official, liked and respected by those who know him, whether foreign or Japanese, but he is an ardent virtuoso and collector, and it appears that in this instance his collector's eagerness got the better of his sober judgment and discretion." But excuses, apologies, and regrets notwithstanding, the Pagoda was not returned, and it remains in Japan to this day.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ABDICATION OF YI HYEUNG

THE Court party was from the first the strongest opponent of the Japanese. Patriotism, tradition, and selfish interests all combined to intensify the resistance of its members. Some officials found their profits threatened, some mourned for perquisites that were cut off, some were ousted out of their places to make room for Japanese, and most felt a not unnatural anger to see men of another race quietly assume authority over their Emperor and their country. The Emperor led the opposition. Old perils had taught him cunning. He knew a hundred ways to feed the stream of discontent, without himself coming forward. Unfortunately there was a strain of great weakness in his character. He would support vigorous action in secret, and then, when men translated his speech into deeds, he would disavow them at the bidding of the Japanese. On one point he never wavered. All attempts to make him formally consent to the treaty of November, 1905, were in vain. "I would sooner die first!" he cried. "I would sooner take poison and end all!"



From a]

Crown Prince.

Emperor.

Ex-Emperor.

[native picture.

THE EX-EMPEROR, EMPEROR, AND CROWN PRINCE OF KOREA WITH PALACE EUNUCHS.

The palace in the heart of Seoul, with its 4,000 hangers-on, was a nest of intrigue. It is the custom of Japanese defenders to paint this palace as a centre of the worst Oriental debauchery. This is wrong. The Emperor lived in a little building adjoining the American Legation, a simple Korean house, with a modern audience-chamber attached. In the outer courts of the palace there were, it is true, numbers of attendants and dependants of all kinds. There was the usual group of Court eunuchs, and there were among the officials a number of sorcerers. The Emperor was somewhat strictly ruled by one wife, Lady Om, and the simplicity and sobriety of his daily life was a marked contrast to that of many Oriental monarchs. Those sons of Nippon who speak of the debauchery of the Korean Courts invite an obvious retort which I shall leave to others to make.

In July, 1906, the Marquis Ito began to exercise stronger constraint on the personal life of the Emperor. One evening a number of Japanese police were brought into the palace. The old palace guards were withdrawn, and the Emperor was made virtually a prisoner. Police officers were posted at each gate, and no one was allowed in or out without a permit from a Japanese-nominated official. At the same time many of the old palace attendants were cleared out. The Resident-General thought that if the Emperor were isolated from his friends, and if he were constantly surrounded by enthusiastic advocates of Japan, he might be coerced or influenced into submission. Yet here Marquis Ito had struck against

a vein of obstinacy and determination that he could scarce have reckoned with.

The Emperor had taken every opportunity to send messages abroad protesting against the treaty. He managed, time after time, still to hold communication with his friends, but the Japanese took good care that traitors should come to him and be loudest in their expressions of loyalty. Little that he did but was immediately known to his captors. In the early summer of 1907 the Emperor thought that he saw his chance at last of striking a blow for freedom through the Hague Conference. He was still convinced that if he could only assure the Powers that he had never consented to the treaty robbing Korea of its independence, they would then send their Ministers back to Seoul and cause Japan to relax her hand. Accordingly, amid great secrecy, three Korean delegates of high rank were provided with funds and dispatched to the Hague under the guardianship of Mr. Hulbert. They were not expert in the ways of foreign diplomacy, nor was their guide. Even had they been practised in all the finesse of European Courts, they might have effected nothing. As it was, they reached the Hague only to be refused a hearing. The Conference would have nothing to say to them.

This action on the part of the Emperor gave the Japanese an excuse they had long been looking for. The formation of the Korean Cabinet had been altered months before in anticipation of such a crisis, and the Cabinet Ministers were now nominated not by the Emperor, but by the Resident-General. The Emperor had been deprived of administrative and

executive power. The Marquis Ito had seen to it that the Ministers were wholly his tools. The time had come when his tools were to cut. The Japanese Government assumed an attitude of silent wrath. It could not allow such offences to go unpunished, its friends declared, but what punishment it would inflict it refused to say. Proceedings were much more cleverly stage-managed than in November, 1905. Nominally, the Japanese had nothing to do with the abdication of the Emperor. Actually the Cabinet Ministers held their gathering at the Residency-General to decide on their policy, and did as they were instructed. They went to the Emperor and demanded that he should abandon the throne to save his country from being swallowed up by Japan. At first he refused, upon which their insistence grew greater. No news of sympathy or help reached him from foreign lands. Knowing the perils surrounding him, he thought that he would trick them all by a simple device. He would make his son, the Crown Prince, temporary Emperor, using a Chinese ideograph for his new title which could scarce be distinguished from the title giving him final and full authority. Here he over-reached himself, for, once out, he was out for good. On July 19th, at six o'clock in the morning, after an all-night conference, the Emperor was persuaded to abdicate. A few hours later he issued his final decree. It was not without pathos.

“Let Heaven hear! For over forty years We have followed the work of our illustrious ancestors. Many troubles have come on us, and events have gone

opposite to what We desired. Perhaps We have not always selected the best men for the national posts. Disturbances have constantly grown more acute, and all efforts to remedy them have generally failed. Difficulties have become pressing, and never has the distress among our people, or the heavy work of governing them, been so harassing as now. We are in fear and trepidation, and We feel as though walking on ice covering deep water. Occupants of our throne have become weary of their duties before us, and have resorted to abdication. We hereby hand over to the Crown Prince the task of administering the great affairs of State, and order the Bureau of Ceremony of the Imperial Household to carry out the details thereof."

The new Emperor, feeble of intellect, could be little more than a tool in the hands of his advisers. His father, however, intended to remain by his side, and to rule through him. In less than a week the Japanese had prepared a new treaty, providing still more strictly for the absolute control of everything in the country by Japan. The six curt clauses of this measure were as far-reaching as they could possibly be made. No laws were to be acted upon or important measures taken by the Government unless the consent and approval of the Resident-General had been previously given. All officials were to hold their positions at the pleasure of the Resident-General, and the Government of Korea agreed to appoint any Japanese the Resident-General might recommend to any post. Finally, the Government of Korea was to engage no

foreigner without the consent of the Japanese head.

A few days later a fresh rescript was issued in the name of the new Emperor, ordering the disbandment of the Korean Army. This was written in the most insulting language possible. "Our existing army, which is composed of mercenaries, is unfit for the purposes of national defence," it declared. It was to make way "for the eventual formation of an efficient army." To add to the insult, the Korean Premier, Yi, was ordered to write a request to the Resident-General, begging him to employ the Japanese forces to prevent disturbances when the disbandment took place. It was as though the Japanese, having their heel on the neck of the enemy, slapped his face to show their contempt for him. On the morning of August 1st some of the superior officers of the Korean Army were called to the residence of the Japanese commander, General Hasegawa, and the Order was read to them. They were told that they were to assemble their men next morning, without arms, and to dismiss them after paying them gratuities, while at the same time their weapons would be secured in their absence. One officer, Major Pak, commander of the smartest and best of the Korean battalions, returned to his barracks in despair, and committed suicide. His men learnt of what had happened and rose in mutiny. They burst upon their Japanese military instructors and nearly killed them. They then forced open the ammunition-room, secured weapons and cartridges, posted themselves behind the win-

dows of their barracks, and fired at every Japanese they saw. News quickly reached the authorities, and Japanese companies of infantry hurried out and surrounded their barracks. One party attacked the front with a machine-gun, and another assaulted from behind. Fighting began at half-past eight in the morning. The Koreans defended themselves until noon, and then were finally overcome by a bayonet charge from the rear. Their gallant defence excited the greatest admiration even among their enemies, and it was notable that for a few days at least the Japanese spoke with more respect of Korea and the Korean people than they had ever done before. Only one series of incidents disgraced the day. The Japanese soldiers behaved well and treated the wounded well, but that night parties of low-class bullies emerged from the Japanese quarter, seeking victims. They beat they stabbed and murdered any man they could find whom they suspected of being a rebel. Dozens of them would set on one helpless victim and do him to death. This was stopped as soon as the Residency-General knew what was happening, and a number of offenders were arrested.

Marquis Ito was made a Prince, a few months afterwards, by the Mikado for his services in Korea.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CROWNING OF THE PUPPET EMPEROR

LATE in August the new Emperor of Korea was crowned amid the sullen silence of a resentful people. Of popular enthusiasm there was none. A few flags were displayed in the streets by the order of the police. In olden times a coronation had been marked by great festivities, lasting many weeks. Now there was gloom, apathy, indifference. News was coming in hourly from the provinces of uprisings and murders. The Il Chin Hoi—they call themselves reformers, but the nation has labelled them traitors—attempted to make a feast, but the people stayed away. “This is the day not for feasting but for the beginning of a year of mourning,” men muttered one to the other.

The Japanese authorities who controlled the coronation ceremony did all they could to minimise it and to prevent independent outside publicity. In this they were well advised. No one who looked upon the new Emperor as he entered the hall of state, his shaking frame upborne by two officials, or as he stood later, with open mouth, fallen jaw, indifferent eyes, and face lacking even a flicker-

ing gleam of intelligent interest, could doubt that the fewer who saw this the better. Yet the ceremony, even when robbed of much of its ancient pomp and all its dignity, was unique and picturesque.

The main feature of this day was not so much the coronation itself as the cutting of the Emperor's top-knot.

On the abdication of the old Emperor, the Cabinet—who are enthusiastic hair-cutters—saw their opportunity. The new Emperor was informed that his hair must be cut. He did not like it. He thought that the operation would be painful, and he was quite satisfied with his hair as it was. Then his Cabinet showed him a brilliant uniform, covered with gold lace. He was henceforth to wear that on ceremonial occasions, and not his old Korean dress. How could he put on the plumed hat of a Generalissimo with a top-knot in the way? The Cabinet were determined. A few hours later a proclamation was spread through the land informing all dutiful subjects that the Emperor's top-knot was coming off, and urging them to imitate him.

A new Court servant was appointed—the High Imperial Hair-cutter. He displayed his uniform in the streets around the palace, a sight for the gods. He strutted along in white breeches, voluminous white frock-coat, white shoes, and black silk hat, the centre of attention.

Early in the morning there was a great scene in the palace. The Imperial Hair-cutter was in attendance. A group of old Court officials hung around the Emperor. With blanched faces and

shaking voices they implored him not to abandon the old ways. The Emperor paused, fearful. What power would be filched from him by the shearing of his locks? But there could be no hesitating now. Resolute men were behind who knew what they were going to see done. A few minutes later the great step was taken.

The Residency-General arranged the coronation ceremony in such a manner as to include as many Japanese and to exclude as many foreigners as possible. There were nearly a hundred Japanese present, including the Mayor of the Japanese settlement and the Buddhist priest. There were only six white men—five Consuls-General and Bishop Turner, chief of the Anglican Church in Korea. The Japanese came arrayed in splendid uniforms. It is part of the new Japanese policy to attire even the most minor officials in sumptuous Court dress, with much gold lace and many orders. This enables Japan to make a brilliant show in official ceremonies, a thing that is not without effect in Oriental Courts.

Shortly before ten o'clock the guests assembled in the throne-room of the palace, a modern apartment with a raised dais at one end. There were Koreans to the left and Japanese to the right of the Emperor, with the Cabinet in the front line on one side and the Residency-General officials on the other. The foreigners faced the raised platform.

The new Emperor appeared, borne to the platform by the Lord Chamberlain and the Master of the Household. He was dressed in the ancient costume of his people, a flowing blue garment

reaching to the ankles, with a robe of softer cream colour underneath. On his head was a quaint Korean hat, with a circle of Korean ornaments hanging from its high, outstanding horse-hair brim. On his chest was a small decorative breastplate. Tall, clumsily built, awkward, and vacant-looking—such was the Emperor.

In ancient days all would have kow-towed before him, and would have beaten their foreheads on the ground. Now no man did more than bow, save one Court herald, who knelt. Weird Korean music started in the background, the beating of drums and the playing of melancholy wind instruments. The Master of Ceremonies struck up a chant, which hidden choristers continued. Amid silence, the Prime Minister, in smart modern attire, advanced and read a paper of welcome. The Emperor stood still, apparently the least interested man in the room. He did not even look bored—simply vacant.

After this there was a pause in the proceedings. The Emperor retired and the guests went into the anterooms. Soon all were recalled, and the Emperor reappeared. There had been a quick change in the meantime. He was now wearing his new modern uniform, as Generalissimo of the Korean Army. Two high decorations—one, if I mistake not, from the Emperor of Japan—hung on his breast. He looked much more manly in his new attire. In front of him was placed his new head-dress, a peaked cap with a fine plume sticking up straight in front. The music now was no longer the ancient

Korean, but modern airs from the very fine European-trained band attached to the palace. The Korean players had gone, with the old dress and the old life, into limbo.

The Japanese Acting Resident-General and military commander, General Baron Hasegawa, strong and masterful-looking, stepped to the front with a message of welcome from his Emperor. He was followed by the doyen of the Consular Corps, M. Vincart, with the Consular greetings. This Consular message had been very carefully sub-edited, and all expressions implying that the Governments of the different representatives approved of the proceedings had been eliminated. Then the coronation was over.

Two figures were conspicuous by their absence. The ex-Emperor was not present. According to the official explanation, he was unable to attend because "his uniform had not been finished in time." Really, as all men knew, he was sitting resentful and protesting within a few score yards of the spot where his son was crowned.

The second absent figure was the Russian Consul-General, M. de Plançon. It was announced that M. de Plançon was late, and so could not attend. Seeing that M. de Plançon lives not ten minutes' walk from the palace, and that the guests had to wait nearly an hour after the time announced before the ceremony began, he must have over-slept very much indeed on that particular morning. Oddly enough, M. de Plançon is usually an early riser,

CHAPTER XV

A JOURNEY TO THE "RIGHTEOUS ARMY"

THE Korean Emperor had been deposed and his army disbanded. The people of Seoul, sullen, resentful, and powerless, victims of the apathy of their sires and of their own indolence and folly, saw their national existence filched from them, and scarce dared mutter a protest. The triumphant Japanese soldiers stood at the city gates and within the palace. Princes must obey their slightest wish, even to the cutting of their hair and the fashioning of their clothes. General Hasegawa's guns commanded every street, and all men dressed in white need walk softly.

But it soon became clear that if Seoul, the capital, was overawed, some parts of the country were not. Refugees from distant villages, creeping after night-fall over the city wall, brought with them marvellous tales of the happenings in the provinces. District after district had risen against the Japanese. A "Righteous Army" had been formed, and was accomplishing amazing things. Detachments of Japanese had been annihilated and others driven

back. Sometimes the Japanese, it is true, were victorious, and then they took bitter vengeance, destroying a whole countryside and slaughtering the people in wholesale fashion. So the refugees said. How far were these stories true? I am bound to say that I, for one, regarded them with much scepticism. Familiar as I was with the offences of individual Japanese in the country, it seemed impossible that outrages could be carried on systematically by the Japanese Army under the direction of its officers. I was with a Japanese army during the war, and had marked and admired the restraint and discipline of the men of all ranks there. They neither stole nor outraged. Still more recently I had noted the action of the Japanese soldiers when repressing the uprising in Seoul itself. Yet, whether the stories of the refugees were true or false, undeniably some interesting fighting was going on.

By the first week in September it was clear that the area of trouble covered the eastern provinces from near Fusan to the north of Seoul. The rebels were evidently mainly composed of discharged soldiers and of hunters from the hills. We heard in Seoul that trained officers of the old Korean Army were drilling and organising them into volunteer companies. The Japanese were pouring fresh troops into these centres of trouble, but the rebels, by an elaborate system of mountain-top signalling, were avoiding the troops and making their attacks on undefended spots. Reports showed that they were badly armed and lacked ammuni-

tion, and there seemed to be no effective organisation for sending them weapons from the outside.

The first rallying-place of the malcontent Koreans was in a mountain district from eighty to ninety miles east of Seoul. Here lived many famous Korean tiger-hunters. These banded themselves together under the title of Eui-pyung (the "Righteous Army"). They had conflicts with small parties of Japanese troops and secured some minor successes. When considerable Japanese reinforcements arrived they retired to some mountain passes further back.

The tiger-hunters, sons of the hills, iron-nerved, and operating in their own country, are naturally awkward antagonists even for the best regular troops. They are probably amongst the boldest sportsmen in the world, and they formed the most picturesque and romantic section of the rebels. Their only weapon is an old-fashioned percussion gun, with long barrel and a brass trigger seven to eight inches in length. Many of them fire not from the shoulder, but hold their guns low. They never miss. They can only fire one charge in an attack, owing to the time required to load. They are trained to stalk the tiger, to come quite close to it, and then to kill it at one shot. No tiger-hunter in the field to-day has ever failed to hit his prey. The man who fails once dies ; the tiger attends to that.

Some of the stories of Korean successes reaching Seoul were at the best improbable. The tale of one fight, however, came to me through so many different and independent sources that there was reason to suspect it had substantial foundation. It recalled the

doings of the people of the Tyrol in their struggle against Napoleon. A party of Japanese soldiers, forty-eight in number, were guarding a quantity of supplies from point to point. The Koreans prepared an ambushade in a mountain valley overshadowed by precipitous hills on either side. When the troops reached the centre of the valley they were overwhelmed by a flight of great boulders rolled on them from the hill-tops, and before the survivors could rally a host of Koreans rushed upon them and did them to death.

Proclamations by Koreans were smuggled into the capital, written in the usual bombastic national style. Parties of Japanese troops were constantly leaving Chinkokai, the Japanese quarter in Seoul, for the provinces. There came a public notice from General Hasegawa himself, which showed the real gravity of the rural situation. It ran as follows:—

"I, General Baron Yoshimichi Hasegawa, Commander of the Army of Occupation in Korea, make the following announcement to each and every one of the people of Korea throughout all the provinces. Taught by the natural trend of affairs in the world and impelled by the national need of political regeneration, the Government of Korea, in obedience to His Imperial Majesty's wishes, is now engaged in the task of reorganising the various institutions of State. But those who are ignorant of the march of events in the world and who fail correctly to distinguish loyalty from treason have by wild and baseless rumours instigated people's minds and caused the rowdies in various places to

rise in insurrection. These insurgents commit all sorts of horrible crimes, such as murdering peaceful people, both native and foreign, robbing their property, burning official and private buildings, and destroying means of communication. Their offences are such as are not tolerated by Heaven or earth. They affect to be loyal and patriotic and call themselves volunteers. But none the less they are law-breakers, who oppose their Sovereign's wishes concerning political regeneration and who work the worst possible harm to their country and people.

“Unless they are promptly suppressed the trouble may assume really calamitous proportions. I am charged by His Majesty, the Emperor of Korea, with the task of rescuing you from such disasters by thoroughly stamping out the insurrection. I charge all of you, law-abiding people of Korea, to prosecute your respective peaceful avocations and be troubled with no fears. As for those who have joined the insurgents from mistaken motives, if they honestly repent and promptly surrender they will be pardoned of their offence. Any of you who will seize insurgents or will give information concerning their whereabouts will be handsomely rewarded. In case of those who wilfully join insurgents, or afford them refuge, or conceal weapons, they shall be severely punished. More than that, the villages to which such offenders belong shall be held collectively responsible and punished with rigour. I call upon each and every one of the people of Korea to understand clearly what I have herewith said to you and avoid all reprehensible action.”



[F. A. McKenzie.]

AN OUTPOST OF KOREAN REBELS.

Photograph by]

The Koreans in America circulated a manifesto directed against those of their countrymen who were working with Japan, under the expressive title of "explosive thunder," which breathed fury and vengeance. "Our twenty million people," they declared, "are getting very angry. Their patriotic wrath has reached the heavens, and their patriotic blood is as high as the highest tide. We are going to burn down your houses and cut off your heads, and then we will divide your flesh into twenty million pieces that will be eaten by twenty million people. Then we will divide your blood into twenty million cups that will be drunk by all of us again. Even after eating and drinking your flesh and blood we will not be satisfied. You are unique criminals, you base-born wretches, hid in foreigners' houses and walking with the protection of foreign troops. Even the children know your cry."

Groups of Koreans in the provinces issued other statements which, if not quite so picturesque, were quite forcible enough. Here is one:—

"Our numbers are twenty million, and we have over ten million strong men, excluding old, sick, and children. Now, the Japanese soldiers in Korea are not more than eight thousand, and Japanese merchants at various places are not more than some thousands. Though their weapons are sharp, how can one man kill a thousand? We beg you our brothers not to act in a foolish way and not to kill any innocent persons. We will fix the day and the hour for you to strike. Some of us, disguised as beggars and merchants, will go into Seoul. We will destroy the

railway, we will kindle flames in every port, we will destroy Chinkokai, kill Ito and all the Japanese, Yi Wang Yong and his underlings, and will not leave a single rebel against our Emperor alive. Then Japan will bring out all her troops to fight us. We have no weapons at our hands, but we will keep our own patriotism. We may not be able to fight against the sharp weapons of the Japanese, but we will ask the Foreign Consuls to help us with their troops, and maybe they will assist the right persons and destroy the wicked; otherwise let us die. Let us strike against Japan, and then, if must be, all die together with our country and with our Emperor, for there is no other course open to us. It is better to lose our lives now than to live miserably a little time longer, for the Emperor and our brothers will all surely be killed by the abominable plans of Ito, Yi Wang Yong, and their associates. It is better to die as a patriot than to live having abandoned one's country. Mr. Yi Chun went to foreign lands to plead for our country, and his plans did not carry well, so he cut his stomach asunder with a sword and poured out his blood among the foreign nations to proclaim his patriotism to the world. These of our twenty million people who do not unite offend against the memory of Mr. Yi Chun. We have to choose between destruction or the maintenance of our country. Whether we live or die is a small thing, the great thing is that we make up our minds at once whether we work for or against our country."

A group of Koreans in the southern provinces petitioned Prince Ito, in the frankest fashion :—

"You spoke much of the kindness and friendship between Japan and Korea, but actually you have drawn away the profits from province after province and district after district until nothing is left wherever the hand of the Japanese falls. The Korean has been brought to ruin, and the Japanese shall be made to follow him downwards. We pity you very much; but you shall not enjoy the profits of the ruin of our land. When Japan and Korea fall together it will be a misfortune indeed for you. If you would secure safety for yourself follow this rule: memorialise our Majesty to impeach the traitors and put them to right punishment. Then every Korean will regard you with favour, and the Europeans will be loud in your praise. Advise the Korean authorities to carry out reforms in various directions, help them to enlarge the schools, and to select capable men for the Government service; then the three countries, Korea, China, and Japan, shall stand in the same line, strongly united and esteemed by foreign nations. If you will not do this, and if you continue to encroach on our rights, then we will be destroyed together, thanks to you.

"You thought there were no men left in Korea; you will see. We country people are resolved to destroy your railways and your settlements and your authorities. On a fixed day we shall send word to our patriots in the north, in the south, in Ping-yang and Kyung Sang, to rise and drive away all Japanese from the various ports, and although your soldiers are skilful with their guns it will be very hard for them to stand against our twenty million people.

We will first attack the Japanese in Korea, but when we have finished them we will appeal to the Foreign Powers to assure the independence and freedom of our country. Before we send the word to our fellow-countrymen we give you this advice."

It was clear that some interesting fighting was going on. I resolved to try to see it. This, I soon found, was easier attempted than done.

The first difficulty came from the Japanese authorities. They refused to grant me a passport, declaring that, owing to the disturbances, they could not guarantee my safety in the interior. An interview followed at the Residency-General, in which I was duly warned that if I travelled without a passport I would be liable, under International treaties, to "arrest at any point on the journey and punishment."

This did not trouble me very much. My real fear had been that the Japanese would consent to my going, but would insist on sending a guard of Japanese soldiers with me. It is more than doubtful if, as things are now, the Japanese have any right to stop a foreigner from travelling in Korea, for the passport regulations have long been virtually obsolete. This was a point that I was prepared to argue out at leisure after my arrest and confinement in a Consular gaol. So the preparations for my departure were continued.

The traveller in Korea, away from the railroads, must carry everything he wants with him, except food for his horses. He must have at least three horses or ponies: one for himself, one pack-pony, and one for his bedding and his "boy." Each pony

needs its own "mafoo," or groom, to cook its food and to attend to it. So, although travelling lightly and in a hurry, I would be obliged to take two horses, one pony, and four attendants with me.

My friends in Seoul, both white and Korean, were of opinion that if I attempted the trip I would probably never return. No white man had gone in the worst regions since the beginning of the trouble. Korean tiger-hunters and disbanded soldiers were scattered about the hills, waiting for the chance of pot-shots at passing Japanese. They would certainly in the distance take me for a Japanese, since the Japanese soldiers and leaders all wear foreign clothes, and they would make me their target before they found out their mistake. A score of suggestions were proffered as to how I should avoid this. One old servant of mine begged me to travel in a native chair, like a Korean gentleman. This chair is a kind of small box, carried by two or four bearers, in which the traveller sits all the time crouched up on his haunches. Its average speed is less than two miles an hour. I preferred the bullets. A member of the Korean Court urged me to send out messengers each night to the villages where I would be going next day, telling the people that I was an "Ingoa tai" (English gentleman) and so they must not shoot me. And so on and so forth.

This exaggerated idea of the risks of the trip unfortunately spread abroad. The horse merchant demanded specially high terms for the hire of his beasts, because he might never see them again. I needed a "boy," or native servant, and although

there are plenty of "boys" in Seoul none was to be had.

I engaged one servant, a fine upstanding young Korean, Wo by name, who had been out on many hunting and mining expeditions. I noticed that he was looking uneasy, and I was scarcely surprised when at the end of the third day he came to me with downcast eyes. "Master," he said, "my heart is very much frightened. Please excuse me this time."

"What is there to be frightened about?" I demanded.

"Korean men will shoot you and then will kill me because my hair is cut." The rebels were reported to be killing all men not wearing top-knots.

Exit Wo. Some one recommended Han, also with a great hunting record. But when Han heard the destination he promptly withdrew. Sin was a good boy out of place. Sin was sent for, but forwarded apologies for not coming.

One Korean was longing to accompany me—my old servant in the war, Kim Min Gun. But Kim was in permanent employment and could not obtain leave. "Master," he said contemptuously, when he heard of the refusals, "these men plenty much afraid." At last Kim's master very kindly gave him permission to accompany me, and the servant difficulty was surmounted.

My preparations were now almost completed, provisions bought, horses hired, and saddles overhauled. The Japanese authorities had made no sign, but they knew what was going on. It seemed likely that they would stop me when I started out.

Then fortune favoured me. A cablegram arrived for me from London. It was brief and emphatic :—

"Proceed forthwith Siberia."

My expedition was abandoned, the horses sent away, and the saddles thrown into a corner. I cabled home that I would soon be back. I made the hotel ring with my public and private complaints about this interference with my plans. I visited the shipping offices to learn of the next steamer to Vladivostock.

A few hours before I was to start for the south I chanced to meet an old friend, who questioned me confidentially, "I suppose it is really true that you are going away, and that this is not a trick on your part?" I left him thoughtful, for his words had shown me the splendid opportunity in my hands. Early next morning, long before dawn, my ponies came back, the boys assembled, the saddles were quickly fixed and the packs adjusted, and soon we were riding as hard as we could for the mountains. The regrettable part of the affair is that many people are still convinced that the whole business of the cablegram was arranged by me in advance as a blind, and no assurances of mine will convince them to the contrary.

As in duty bound, I sent word to the acting British Consul-General, telling him of my departure. My letter was not delivered to him until after I had left. On my return I found his reply awaiting me at my hotel.

"I consider it my duty to inform you," he wrote "that I received a communication on the 7th inst. from the Residency-General informing me that, in view of the disturbed conditions in the interior, it is deemed inadvisable that foreign subjects should be allowed to travel in the disturbed districts for the present. I would also call your attention to the stipulation in Article V. of the treaty between Great Britain and Korea, under which British subjects travelling in the interior of the country without a passport are liable to arrest and to a penalty."

In Seoul no one could tell where or how the "Righteous Army" might be found. The information doled out by the Japanese authorities was fragmentary, and was obviously and naturally framed in such a manner as to minimise and discredit the disturbances. It was admitted that the Korean volunteers had a day or two earlier destroyed a small railway station on the line to Fusan. We knew that a small party of them had attacked the Japanese guard of a store of rifles, not twenty miles from the capital, and had driven them off and captured the arms and ammunition. Most of the fighting, so far as one could judge, appeared to have been around the town of Chung-ju, four days' journey from Seoul. It was for there I aimed, travelling by an indirect bridle-path in order to avoid the Japanese as far as possible.

The country in which I soon found myself presented a field of industry and of prosperity such as I have seen nowhere else in Korea. Between the somewhat desolate mountain ranges and great

stretches of sandy soil we came upon innumerable thriving villages. Every possible bit of land, right up the hillsides, was carefully cultivated. Here were stretches of cotton, with bursting pods all ready for picking, and here great fields of buckwheat white with flower. The two most common crops were rice and barley, and the fields were heavy with their harvest. Near the villages one would see more ornamental lines of chilies and beans and seed plants for oil, with occasional clusters of kowliang, fully twelve and thirteen feet high.

In the centre of the fields was a double-storied summer-house, made of straw, the centre of a system of high ropes, decked with bits of rag, running over the crops in all directions. Two lads would sit on the upper floor of each of these houses, pulling the ropes, flapping the rags, and making all kinds of harsh noises, to frighten away the birds preying on the crops.

The villages themselves were pictures of beauty and of peace. Most of them were surrounded by a high fence of wands and matting. At the entrance there sometimes stood the village "joss," although many villages have now destroyed their idols. This "joss" is a thick stake of wood, six or eight feet high, with the upper part roughly carved into the shape of a very ugly human face, and crudely coloured in vermilion and green. It is supposed to frighten away the evil spirits.

The village houses, low, mud-walled, and thatch-roofed, were seen this season at their best. Gay flowers grew around. Melons and pumpkins,

weighted with fruit, ran over the walls. Nearly every roof displayed a patch of vivid scarlet, for the chilies had just been gathered, and were spread out on the housetops to dry. In front of the houses were boards covered with sliced pumpkins and gherkins drying in the sun for winter use. Every courtyard had its line of black earthenware jars, four to six feet high, stored with all manner of good things, mostly preserved vegetables of many varieties, for the coming year.

I had heard much of the province of Chung-Chong-Do as the Italy of Korea, but its beauty and prosperity required seeing to be believed. It afforded an amazing contrast to the dirt and apathy of Seoul. Here every one worked. In the fields the young women were toiling in groups, weeding or harvesting. The young men were cutting bushes on the hillsides, the father of the family preparing new ground for the fresh crop, and the very children frightening off the birds. At home the housewife was busy with her children and preparing her simples and stores; and even the old men busied themselves over light tasks, such as mat-making. Every one seemed prosperous, busy, and happy. There were no signs of poverty. The uprising had not touched this district, save in the most incidental fashion.

My inquiries as to where I should find any signs of the fighting always met with the same reply—"The Japanese have been to I-Chhon, and have burned many villages there." So we pushed on for I-Chhon as hard as we could.



[F. A. McKenzie,

THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN : THE REMAINS OF A VILLAGE INN.

Photograph by]

The chief problem that faces the traveller in Korea who ventures away from the railways is the question of how to hasten the speed of his party. "You cannot travel faster than your pack," is one of those indisputable axioms against which the impatient man frets in vain. Now, the pack-pony is led by a horseman, who really controls the situation. If he sulks and determines to go slowly nothing can be done. If he hurries, the whole party must move quickly.

The Korean mafoo regards seventy li (about twenty-one miles) as a fair day's work. He prefers to average sixty li, but if you are very insistent he may go eighty. It was imperative that I should cover from a hundred to a hundred and twenty li a day.

I tried a mixture of harsh words, praise, and liberal tips. I was up at three in the morning, setting the boys to work at cooking the animals' food, and I kept them on the road until dark. Still the record was not satisfactory. It is necessary in Korea to allow at least six hours each day for the cooking of the horses' food and feeding them. This is a time that no wise traveller attempts to cut. Including feeding-times, we were on the go from sixteen to eighteen hours a day. Notwithstanding this, the most we had reached was a hundred and ten li a day.

Then came a series of little hindrances. The pack-pony would not eat its dinner; its load was too heavy. "Hire a boy to carry part of its load," I replied. A hundred reasons would be found for halting, and still more for slow departure.

It was clear that something more must be done. I called the pack-pony leader on one side. He was a fine, broad-framed giant, a man who had in his time gone through many fights and adventures. "You and I understand one another," I said to him. "These others with their moanings and cries are but as children. Now let us make a compact. You hurry all the time and I will give you" (here I whispered a figure into his ear that sent a gratified smile over his face) "at the end of the journey. The others need know nothing. This is between men."

He nodded assent. From that moment the trouble was over. Footsore mafoos, lame horses, grumbling inn-keepers—nothing mattered. "Let the fires burn quickly." "Out with the horses." The other horse-keepers, not understanding his changed attitude, toiled wearily after him. At night-time he would look up, as he led his pack-pony in at the end of a record day, and his grim smile would proclaim that he was keeping his end of the bargain.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN

“IT is necessary for us to show these men something of the strong hand of Japan,” one of the leading Japanese in Seoul, a close associate of the Prince Ito, told me shortly before I left that city. “The people of the eastern mountain districts have seen few or no Japanese soldiers, and they have no idea of our strength. We must convince them how strong we are.”

As I stood on a mountain-pass, looking down on the valley leading to I-Chhon, I recalled these words of my friend. The “strong hand of Japan” was certainly being shown here. I beheld in front of me village after village reduced to ashes.

I rode down to the nearest heap of ruins. The place had been quite a large village, with probably seventy or eighty houses. Destruction, thorough and complete, had fallen upon it. Not a single house was left, and not a single wall of a house. Every pot with the winter stores was broken. The very earthen fire-places were wrecked.

The villagers had come back to the ruins again, and were already rebuilding. They had put up

temporary refuges of straw. The young men were out on the hills cutting wood, and every one else was toiling at house-making. The crops were ready to harvest, but there was no time to gather them in. First of all, make a shelter.

During the next few days sights like these were to be too common to arouse much emotion. But for the moment I looked around on these people, ruined and homeless, with quick pity. The old men, venerable and dignified, as Korean old men mostly are, the young wives, many with babes at their breasts, the sturdy men, they formed, if I could judge by what I saw, an exceptionally clean and peaceful community.

There was no house in which I could rest, so I sat down under a tree, and while Min Gun was cooking my dinner the village elders came around with their story. One thing especially struck me. Usually the Korean woman is shy, retiring, and afraid to open her mouth in the presence of a stranger. Here the women spoke up as freely as the men. The great calamity had broken down the barriers of their silence.

"We are glad," they said, "that a European man has come to see what has befallen us. We hope you will tell your people, so that all men may know.

"There has been some fighting on the hills beyond our village," and they pointed to the hills a mile or two further on. "The Eui-pyung" (the volunteers) "had been there, and had torn up some telegraph poles. The Eui-pyung came down from the eastern hills. They were not our men, and had nothing to do with us. The Japanese soldiers came, and there was a fight, and the Eui-pyung fell back.

“Then the Japanese soldiers marched out to our village, and to seven other villages. Look around and you can see the ruins of all. They spoke many harsh words to us. ‘The Eui-pyung broke down the telegraph poles and you did not stop them,’ they said. ‘Therefore you are all the same as Eui-pyung. Why have you eyes if you do not watch, why have you strength if you do not prevent the Eui-pyung from doing mischief? The Eui-pyung came to your houses and you fed them. They have gone, but we will punish you.’

“And they went from house to house, taking what they wanted and setting all alight. One old man—he had lived in his house since he was a babe suckled by his mother—saw a soldier lighting up his house. He fell on his knees and caught the foot of the soldier. ‘Excuse me, excuse me,’ he said, with many tears. ‘Please do not burn my house. Leave it for me that I may die there. I am an old man, and near my end.’

“The soldier tried to shake him off, but the old man prayed the more. ‘Excuse me, excuse me,’ he moaned. Then the soldier lifted his gun and shot the old man, and we buried him.

“One who was near to her hour of child-birth was lying in a house. Alas for her! One of our young men was working in the field cutting grass. He was working and had not noticed the soldiers come. He lifted his knife, sharpening it in the sun. ‘There is a Eui-pyung,’ he said, and he fired and killed him. One man, seeing the fire, noticed that all his family records were burning. He rushed in to try and

pull them out, but as he rushed a soldier fired, and he fell."

A man, whose appearance proclaimed him to be of a higher class than most of the villagers, then spoke in bitter tones. "We are rebuilding our houses," he said, "but of what use is it for us to do so? I was a man of family. My fathers and fathers' fathers had their record. Our family papers are destroyed. Henceforth we are a people without a name, disgraced and outcast."

I found, when I went further into the country, that this view was fairly common. The Koreans regard their family existence with peculiar veneration. The family record means everything to them. When it is destroyed, the family is wiped out. It no longer exists, even though there are many members of it still living. As the province of Chung-Chong Do prides itself on the large number of its substantial families, there could be no more effective way of striking at them than this.

I rode out of the village heavy-hearted. What struck me most about this form of punishment, however, was not the suffering of the villagers so much as the futility of the proceedings, from the Japanese point of view. In place of pacifying a people, they were turning hundreds of quiet families into rebels. During the next few days I was to see at least one town and many scores of villages treated as this one. To what end? The villagers were certainly not the people fighting the Japanese. All they wanted to do was to look quietly after their own affairs. Japan professes a desire to conciliate



Photograph by]

IN THE WAKE OF THE JAPANESE ARMY : A BURNT-OUT TOWN OF KOREA.

[*F. A. McKenzie.*

Korea and to win the affection and support of her people. In one province at least the policy of house-burning has reduced a prosperous community to ruin, increased the rebel forces, and sown a crop of bitter hatred which it will take generations to root out.

We rode on through village after village and hamlet after hamlet burned to the ground. The very attitude of the people told me that the hand of Japan had struck hard there. We would come upon a boy carrying a load of wood. He would run quickly to the side of the road when he saw us, expecting he knew not what. We passed a village with a few houses left. The women flew to shelter as I drew near. Some of the stories that I heard later helped me to judge why they should run. Of course they took me for a Japanese.

All along the route I heard tales of the Japanese plundering, where they had not destroyed. Here the village elders would bring me an old man badly beaten by a Japanese soldier because he resisted being robbed. Then came darker stories. In Seoul I had laughed at them. Now, face to face with the victims, I could laugh no more.

That afternoon we rode into I-Chhon itself. This is quite a large town. I found it practically deserted. Most of the people had fled to the hills, to escape from the Japanese. I slept that night in a school-house, now deserted and unused. There were the cartoons and animal pictures and pious mottoes around, but the children were far away. I passed through the market-place, usually a very busy spot. There was no sign of life there.

I turned to some of the Koreans:

"Where are your women? Where are your children?" I demanded. They pointed to the high and barren hills looming against the distant heavens.

"They are up there," they said. "Better for them to lie on the barren hillsides than to be outraged here."

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUINS OF CHEE-CHONG

DAY after day we travelled through a succession of burned-out villages, deserted towns, and forsaken country. The fields were covered with a rich and abundant harvest, ready to be gathered, and impossible for the invaders to destroy. But most of the farmers were hiding on the mountain-sides, fearing to come down. The few courageous men who had ventured to come back were busy erecting temporary shelters for themselves before the winter cold came on, and had to let the harvest wait. Great flocks of birds hung over the crops, feasting undisturbed.

Up to Chong-ju nearly one-half of the villages on the direct line of route had been destroyed by the Japanese. At Chong-ju I struck directly across the mountains to Chee-chong, a day's journey. Four-fifths of the villages and hamlets on the main road between these two places were burned to the ground.

The few people who had returned to the ruins always disclaimed any connection with the "Righteous Army." They had taken no part in the fight-

ing, they said. The volunteers had come down from the hills and had attacked the Japanese; the Japanese had then retaliated by punishing the local residents. The fact that the villagers had no arms, and were peaceably working at home-building, seemed at the time to show the truth of their words. Afterwards when I came up with the Korean fighters I found these statements confirmed. The rebels were mostly townsmen from Seoul, and not villagers from that district.

Between 10,000 and 20,000 people had been driven to the hills in this small district alone, either by the destruction of their homes or because of fear excited by the acts of the soldiers.

Soon after leaving I-Chhon I came on a village where the Red Cross was flying over one of the houses. The place was a native Anglican church. I was later on to see the Red Cross over many houses, for the people had the idea that by thus appealing to the Christians' God they made a claim on the pity and charity of the Christian nations.

In the evening, after I had settled down in the yard of the native inn, the elders of the Church came to see me, two quiet-spoken, grave, middle-aged men. They were somewhat downcast, and said that their village had suffered considerably, the parties of soldiers passing through having taken what they wanted and being guilty of some outrages. A gardener's wife had been violated by a Japanese soldier, another soldier standing guard over the house with rifle and fixed bayonet. A boy, attracted by the woman's screams, ran and fetched



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN : A MOTHER MOURNING HER TEN-YEAR-OLD
DAUGHTER SHOT BY THE JAPANESE SOLDIERS.

the husband. He came up, knife in hand. "But what could he do?" the elders asked. "There was the soldier, with rifle and bayonet, before the door."

Later on I was to hear other stories, very similar to this. These tales were confirmed on the spot, so far as confirmation was possible. In my judgment such outrages were not numerous, and were limited to exceptional parties of troops. But they produced an effect altogether disproportionate to their numbers. The Korean has high ideals about the sanctity of his women, and the fear caused by a comparatively few offences was largely responsible for the flight of multitudes to the hills.

In the burning of villages, a certain number of Korean women and children were undoubtedly killed. The Japanese troops seem in many cases to have rushed a village and to have indulged in miscellaneous wild shooting, on the chance of there being rebels around, before firing the houses. In one hamlet, where I found two houses still standing, the folk told me that these had been left because the Japanese shot the daughter of the owner of one of them, a girl of ten. "When they shot her," the villagers said, "we approached the soldiers, and said, 'Please excuse us, but since you have killed the daughter of this man you should not burn his house.' And the soldiers listened to us."

In towns like Chong-ju and Won-ju practically all the women and children and better-class families had disappeared. The shops were shut and barricaded by their owners before leaving, but many of them had been forced open and looted. The destruction in

other towns paled to nothing, however, before the havoc wrought in Chee-chong. Here was a town completely destroyed.

Chee-chong was, up to the late summer of this year, an important rural centre, containing between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, and beautifully situated in a sheltered plain, surrounded by high mountains. It was a favourite resort of high officials, a Korean Bath or Cheltenham. Many of the houses were large, and some had tiled roofs—a sure evidence of wealth.

When the "Righteous Army" began operations, one portion of it occupied the hills beyond Chee-chong. The Japanese sent a small body of troops into the town. These were attacked one night on three sides, several were killed, and the others were compelled to retire. The Japanese despatched reinforcements, and after some fighting regained lost ground. They then determined to make Chee-chong an example to the countryside. The entire town was put to the torch. The soldiers carefully tended the flames, piling up everything for destruction. Nothing was left, save one image of Buddha and the magistrate's yamen. When the Koreans fled, five men, one woman, and a child, all wounded, were left behind. These disappeared in the flames.

It was a hot early autumn when I reached Chee-chong. The brilliant sunshine revealed a Japanese flag waving over a hillock commanding the town, and glistened against the bayonet of a Japanese sentry. I dismounted and walked down the streets and over the heaps of ashes. Never have I witnessed such com-



[F. A. McKenzie.]

THE STRONG HAND OF JAPAN : THE CHIEF THOROUGHFARE OF CHEE-CHONG BURNT DOWN BY THE JAPANESE TROOPS.

Photograph by]



plete destruction. Where a month before there had been a busy and prosperous community, there was now nothing but lines of little heaps of black and grey dust and cinders. Not a whole wall, not a beam, and not an unbroken jar remained. Here and there a man might be seen poking among the ashes, seeking for aught of value. The search was vain. Chee-chong had been wiped off the map. "Where are your people?" I asked the few searchers. "They are lying on the hillsides," came the reply.

Up to this time I had not met a single rebel soldier, and very few Japanese. My chief meeting with the Japanese occurred the previous day at Chong-ju. As I approached that town, I noticed that its ancient walls were broken down. The stone arches of the city gates were left, but the gates themselves and most of the walls had gone. A Japanese sentry and a gendarme stood at the gateway, and cross-examined me as I entered. A small body of Japanese troops were stationed here, and operations in the country around were apparently directed from this centre.

I at once called upon the Japanese Colonel in charge. His room, a great apartment in the local governor's yamen, showed on all sides evidences of the thoroughness with which the Japanese are conducting this campaign. Large maps, with red marks, revealed strategic positions now occupied. A little printed pamphlet, with maps, evidently for the use of officers, lay on the table.

The Colonel received me politely, but expressed his regrets that I had come. The men he was fighting were mere robbers, he said, and there was nothing for me

to see. He gave me various warnings about dangers ahead. Then he very kindly explained that the Japanese plan was to hem in the volunteers, two sections of troops operating from either side and making a circle around the seat of trouble. These would unite and gradually drive the Koreans towards a centre.

The maps which the Colonel showed me settled my movements. A glance at them made clear that the Japanese had not yet occupied the line of country between Chee-chong and Won-ju. Here, then, was the place where I must go if I would meet the Korean bands. So it was towards Won-ju that I turned our horses' heads on the following day, after gazing on the ruins of Chee-chong.

CHAPTER XVIII

WITH THE REBELS

IT soon became evident that I was very near to the Korean forces. At one place, not far from Chee-Chong, a party of them had arrived two days before I passed, and had demanded arms. A little further on Koreans and Japanese had narrowly escaped meeting in the village street, not many hours before I stopped there. As I approached one hamlet, the inhabitants fled into the high corn, and on my arrival not a soul was to be found. They mistook me for a Japanese out on a shooting and burning expedition.

It now became more difficult to obtain carriers. Our ponies were showing signs of fatigue, for we were using them very hard over the mountainous country. It was impossible to hire fresh animals, as the Japanese had commandeered all. Up to Won-ju I had to pay double the usual rate for my carriers. From Won-ju onwards carriers absolutely refused to go further, whatever the pay.

“On the road beyond here many bad men are to be found,” they told me at Won-ju. “These bad men shoot every one who passes. We will not go

to be shot." My own boys were showing some uneasiness. Fortunately, I had in my personal servant Min Gun, and in the leader of the pack-pony two of the staunchest Koreans I have ever known.

The country beyond Won-ju was splendidly suited for an ambushade, such as the people there promised me. The road was rocky and broken, and largely lay through a narrow, winding valley, with overhanging cliffs. Now we would come on a splendid gorge, evidently of volcanic origin; now we would pause to chip a bit of gold-bearing quartz from the rocks, for this is a famous gold centre of Korea. An army might have been hidden securely around.

Twilight was just gathering as we stopped at a small village where we intended remaining for the night. The people were sullen and unfriendly, a striking contrast to what I had found elsewhere. In other parts they all came and welcomed me, sometimes refusing to take payment for the accommodation they supplied. "We are glad that a white man has come." But in this village the men gruffly informed me that there was not a scrap of horse food or of rice to be had. They advised us to go on to another place, fifteen li ahead.

We started out. When we had ridden a little way from the village I chanced to glance back at some trees skirting a corn-field. A man, half-hidden by a bush, was fumbling with something in his hands, something which he held down as I turned. I took it to be the handle of a small reaping-knife, but it was growing too dark to see clearly. A minute later, however, there came a smart "ping" past



Photograph by]

VILLAGE DESTROYED BY THE JAPANESE ARMY.

[F. A. McKenzie.

my ear, followed by the thud of a bullet striking metal.

I turned, but the man had disappeared. It would have been merely foolish to blaze back with a .380 Colt at a distance of over a hundred yards, and there was no time to go back. So we continued on our way.

Before arriving at Won-ju we had been told that we would certainly find the Righteous Army around there. At Won-ju men said that it was at a place fifteen or twenty miles ahead. When we reached that distance we were directed onwards to Yan-gun. We walked into Yan-gun one afternoon, only to be again disappointed. Here, however, we learned that there had been a fight that same morning at a village fifteen miles nearer Seoul, and that the Koreans had been defeated.

Yan-gun presented a remarkable sight. A dozen red crosses waved over houses at different points. In the main street every shop was closely barricaded, and a cross was pasted on nearly every door. These crosses, roughly painted on paper in red ink, were obtained from the elder of the Roman Catholic church there. A week before some Japanese soldiers had arrived and burned a few houses. They spared one house close to them waving a Christian cross. As soon as the Japanese left nearly every one pasted a cross over his door.

At first Yan-gun seemed deserted. The people were watching me from behind the shelter of their doors. Then men and boys crept out, and gradually approached. We soon made friends. The women had fled. I settled down that afternoon in the garden of

a Korean house of the better type. My boy was preparing my supper in the front courtyard, when he suddenly dropped everything to rush to me. "Master," he cried, highly excited, "the Righteous Army has come. Here are the soldiers."

In another moment half a dozen of them entered the garden, formed in line in front of me and saluted. They were all lads, from eighteen to twenty-six. One, a bright-faced, handsome youth, still wore the old uniform of the regular Korean Army. Another had a pair of military trousers. Two of them were in slight, ragged Korean dress. Not one had leather boots. Around their waists were home-made cotton cartridge belts, half full. One wore a kind of tarboosh on his head, and the others had bits of rag twisted round their hair.

I looked at the guns they were carrying. The six men had five different patterns of weapons, and not one of them was any good. One proudly carried an old Korean sporting gun of the oldest type of muzzle-loaders known to man. Around his arm was the long piece of thin rope which he kept smouldering as touch-powder, and hanging in front of him were the powder horn and bullet bag for loading. This sporting gun was, I afterwards found, a common weapon. The ramrod, for pressing down the charge, was home-made and cut from a tree. The barrel was rust-eaten. There was only a strip of cotton as a carrying strap.

The second man had an old Korean army rifle, antiquated, and a very bad specimen of its time. The third had the same. One had a tiny sporting

gun, the kind of weapon, warranted harmless, that fathers give to their fond sons at the age of ten. Another had a horse-pistol, taking a rifle cartridge. Three of the guns bore Chinese marks. They were all eaten up with ancient rust.

These were the men—think of it—who for weeks had been bidding defiance to the Japanese Army! Even now a Japanese division of regular soldiers was manœuvring to corral them and their comrades. Three of the party in front of me were coolies. The smart young soldier who stood at the right plainly acted as sergeant, and had done his best to drill his comrades into soldierly bearing. A seventh man now came in, unarmed, a Korean of the better class, well dressed in the long robes of a gentleman, but thin, sun-stained and wearied like the others.

A pitiful group they seemed—men already doomed to certain death, fighting in an absolutely hopeless cause. But as I looked the sparkling eyes and smiles of the sergeant to the right seemed to rebuke me. Pity! Maybe my pity was misplaced. At least they were showing their countrymen an example of patriotism, however mistaken their method of displaying it might be.

They had a story to tell, for they had been in the fight that morning, and had retired before the Japanese. The Japanese had the better position, and forty Japanese soldiers had attacked 200 of them and they had given way. But they had killed four Japanese, and the Japanese had only killed two of them and wounded three more. Such was their account.

I did not ask them why, when they had killed twice as many as the enemy, they had yet retreated. The real story of the fight I could learn later. As they talked others came to join them—two old men, one fully eighty, an old tiger-hunter, with bent back, grizzled face, and patriarchal beard. The two new-comers carried the old Korean sporting rifles. Other soldiers of the retreating force were outside. There was a growing tumult in the street. How long would it be before the triumphant Japanese, following up their victory, attacked the town?

I was not to have much peace that night. In the street outside a hundred noisy disputes were proceeding between volunteers and the townsfolk. The soldiers wanted shelter; the people, fearing the Japanese, did not wish to let them in. A party of them crowded into an empty building adjoining the house where I was, and they made the place ring with their disputes and recriminations.

Very soon the officer who had been in charge of the men during the fight that day called on me. He was a comparatively young man, dressed in the ordinary long white garments of the better-class Koreans. I asked him what precautions he had taken against a night attack, for if the Japanese knew where we were they would certainly come on us. Had he any outposts placed in positions? Was the river-way guarded? "There is no need for outposts," he replied. "Every Korean man around watches for us."

I cross-examined him about the constitution of the

rebel army. How were they organised? From what he told me, it was evident that they had practically no organisation at all. There were a number of separate bands held together by the loosest ties. A rich man in each place found the money. This he secretly gave to one or two open rebels, and they gathered adherents around them.

He admitted that the men were in anything but a good way. "We may have to die," he said. "Well, so let it be. It is much better to die as a free man than to live as the slave of Japan."

He had not been gone long before still another called on me, a middle-aged Korean gentleman, attended by a staff of officials. Here was a man of rank, and I soon learned that he was the Commander-in-Chief for the entire district. I was in somewhat of a predicament. I had used up all my food, and had not so much as a cigar or a glass of whisky left to offer him. One or two flickering candles in the covered courtyard of the inn lit up his careworn face. I apologised for the rough surroundings in which I received him, but he immediately brushed my apologies aside. He complained bitterly of the conduct of his subordinate, who had risked an engagement that morning when he had orders not to. The commander, it appeared, had been called back home for a day on some family affairs, and hurried back to the front as soon as he knew of the trouble. He had come to me for a purpose. "Our men want weapons," he said. "They are as brave as can be, but you know what their guns are like, and we have very little ammunition. We cannot buy,

but you can go to and fro freely as you want. Now, you act as our agent. Buy guns for us and bring them to us. Ask what money you like, it does not matter. Five thousand dollars, ten thousand dollars, they are yours if you will have them. Only bring us guns!"

I had, of course, to tell him that I could not do anything of the kind. When he further asked me questions about the positions of the Japanese I was forced to give evasive answers. To my mind, the publicist who visits fighting forces in search of information, as I had done, is in honour bound not to communicate what he learns to the other side. I could no more tell the rebel leader of the exposed Japanese outposts I knew, and against which I could have sent his troops with the certainty of success, than I could on return tell the Japanese the strength of his forces.

All that night the rebels dribbled in. Several wounded men who had escaped from the fight the previous day were borne along by their comrades, and early on the following morning some soldiers came and asked me to do what I could to heal them. I went out and examined the men. One had no less than five bullet-holes in him and yet seemed remarkably cheerful. Two others had single shots of a rather more dangerous nature. I do not profess to be a surgeon, and it was manifestly impossible for me to jab into their wounds with my hunting-knife in the hope of extracting the bullets. I found, however, some corrosive sublimate tabloids in my leather medicine case. These I dissolved, and washed the wounds in them to stop suppuration. I had some

Listerine, and I washed their rags in it. I bound the clean rags on the wounds, bade the men lie still and eat little, and left them.

Soon after dawn the rebel regiments paraded in the streets. They reproduced on a larger scale the characteristics I had noted among the few men who came to visit me the evening before, poor weapons and little ammunition. They sent out men in advance before I departed in the morning to warn their outposts that I was an Englishman who must not be injured. I left them with mutual good wishes, but I made a close inspection of my party before we marched away to see that all our weapons were in place. Some of my boys begged me to give the rebels our guns so that they might kill the Japanese!

We had not gone very far before we descended into a rocky and sandy plain by the river. Suddenly I heard one of my boys shout at the top of his voice, as he threw up his arms, "Ingoa Tai." We all stopped, and the others took up the cry. "What does this mean?" I asked. "Some rebel soldiers are surrounding us," said Min Gun, "and they are going to fire. They think you are a Japanese." I stood against the sky-line and pointed vigorously to myself to show that they were mistaken. "Ingoa Tai!" I shouted, with my boys. It was not dignified, but it was very necessary. Now we could see creeping, ragged figures running from rock to rock, closer and closer to us. The rifles of some were covering us while the others advanced. Then a party of a couple of dozen rose from the ground near to hand, with a young man in a European officer's uniform

at their head. They ran to us, while we stood and waited. At last they saw who I was, and when they came near they apologised very gracefully for their blunder. "It was fortunate that you shouted when you did," said one ugly-faced young rebel, as he slipped his cartridge back into his pouch; "I had you nicely covered and was just going to shoot." Some of the soldiers in this band were not more than fourteen to sixteen years old. I made them stand and have their photographs taken, and the picture on the page opposite will show their appearances better than much description.

By noon I arrived at the place from which the Korean soldiers had been driven on the day before. The villagers there were regarded in very unfriendly fashion by the rebels, who thought they had betrayed them to the Japanese. The villagers told me what was evidently the true story of the fight. They said that about twenty Japanese soldiers had on the previous morning marched quickly to the place and attacked 200 rebels there. One Japanese soldier was hurt, receiving a flesh wound in the arm, and five rebels were wounded. Three of these latter got away, and these were the ones I had treated earlier in the morning. Two others were left on the field, one badly shot in the left cheek and the other in the right shoulder. To quote the words of the villagers, "As the Japanese soldiers came up to these wounded men they were too sick to speak, and they could only utter cries like animals—'Hula, hula, hula!' They had no weapons in their hands, and their blood was



Photograph by]

A COMPANY OF KOREAN REBELS.

[F. A. McKenzie.

running on the ground. The Japanese soldiers heard their cries, and went up to them and stabbed them through and through and through again with their bayonets until they died. The men were torn very much with the bayonet stabs, and we had to take them up and bury them." The expressive faces of the villagers told more eloquently than mere description how horrible the bayonetting was.

Were this an isolated instance, it would scarcely be necessary to mention it. But what I heard on all sides went to show that in a large number of fights in the country the Japanese systematically killed all the wounded and all who surrendered themselves. This was not so in every case, but it certainly was in very many. The fact is confirmed by the Japanese accounts of many fights, where the figures given of Korean casualties are so many killed, with no mention of wounded or prisoners.

Another point deserves mention. In place after place the Japanese, besides burning houses, shot numbers of men whom they suspected of assisting the rebels. When describing these executions to me the Koreans always finished up by mentioning how, after the volley had been fired, the Japanese officer in command of the firing party went up to the corpse and plunged his sword into it or hacked it. An Englishman, of whose accuracy I have every reason to be assured, heard the same tale. He lived near a Japanese military station on the outskirts of the rebellion, and he attended one of the executions there to see if this was so. The prisoner was led out, his hands tied behind him, and a Japanese

soldier leading him by a halter around the neck. As they passed along on their way to the firing-ground the Japanese soldier noticed the watching foreigner. Thereupon he deliberately jerked the halter to make the prisoner stumble, and then gave him a heavy prod in the stomach with the butt-end of his rifle. On this occasion, however, there was no slashing of the body after death.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SUPPRESSION OF FOREIGN CRITICISM

IT may be asked why the Europeans and Americans living in Korea did not make the full facts about the Japanese administration known at an earlier date. Some of them did attempt it, but the strong feeling that generally existed abroad in favour of the Japanese people—a feeling due to the magnificent conduct of the nation during the war—caused complaints to go unheeded. The American Minister at Seoul, Dr. Allen, was recalled as the indirect result of an effort to show his Government that the Japanese claims and assumptions should not be taken without some critical examination. Many missionaries in Korea, while indignant and resentful at the injury done to their native neighbours, counselled patience, and believed that the abuses were temporary and would soon come to an end. It must be remembered that, at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, every foreigner in the country, except a small group of pro-Russians, sympathised with Japan. We had all been alienated by the follies and mistakes of the Russian Far Eastern policy ; we saw Japan at her very best, and we believed that her people would act

well by this weaker race. Our favourable impressions were strengthened by the first doings of the Japanese soldiers, and when scandals were whispered, and oppression began to appear, we all looked upon them as momentary disturbances due to a condition of war. We were unwilling to believe anything but the best, and it took some time to destroy our favourable prepossessions. I speak here not only for myself, but for many another white man in Korea at the time.

I might support this by many quotations. I take, for instance, Professor Hulbert, the editor of the *Korea Review*, to-day one of the most persistent and active critics of Japanese policy. At the opening of the war Professor Hulbert used all his influence in favour of Japan. "What Korea wants," he wrote, "is education, and until steps are taken in that line there is no use in hoping for a genuinely independent Korea. Now, we believe that a large majority of the best-informed Koreans realise that Japan and Japanese influence stand for education and enlightenment, and that while the paramount influence of any one outside Power is in some sense a humiliation, the paramount influence of Japan will give far less genuine cause for humiliation than has the paramount influence of Russia. Russia secured her predominance by pandering to the worst elements in Korean officialdom. Japan holds it by strength of arm, but she holds it in such a way that it gives promise of something better. The word reform never passed the Russians' lips. It is the insistent cry of Japan. The welfare of the Korean people never showed its

head above the Russian horizon, but it fills the whole vision of Japan ; not from altruistic motives mainly but because the prosperity of Korea and that of Japan rise and fall with the same tide.”¹

Month after month, when stories of trouble came from the interior, the *Korea Review* endeavoured to give the best explanation possible for them, and to reassure the public. It was not until the editor was forced thereto by consistent and sustained Japanese misgovernment that he reversed his attitude.

Foreign visitors of influence were naturally drawn to the Japanese rather than to the Koreans. They found in the officials of the Residency General a body of courteous and delightful men, who knew the Courts of Europe, and were familiar with world affairs. On the other hand, the Korean spokesmen had no power or skill in putting their case so as to attract European sympathy. One distinguished foreigner, who returned home and wrote a book largely given up to laudation of the Japanese and contemptuous abuse of the Koreans, admitted that he had never, during his journey, had any contact with Koreans save those his Japanese guides brought to him. Some foreign journalists were also at first blinded in the same way.

Such a state of affairs obviously could not last. Gradually the complaints of the foreign community became louder and louder, and visiting publicists began to take more notice of them. Here they were met by a fresh difficulty. Editors at home were as unwilling to believe anti-Japanese stories as the journalists themselves had been, and, in some cases

¹ *Korea Review*, February, 1904.

known to me, the criticisms were entirely suppressed by the home editors. This did not always happen. Thus, the London *Tribune* permitted Mr. Douglas Story, in the spring of 1906, to present the case of the Korean Emperor. In the summer of the same year, the London *Daily Mail* printed several articles by myself, giving a detailed criticism of the Japanese policy, backed up by numerous stories of outrages and suffering, and based on a recent tour through the country. It was then uphill work to attempt to make the Korean case known, but there has been, since that time, a growing willingness to hear both sides of the question. When, in the autumn of 1905, I spoke fully on the new issues, I was sharply taken to task by influential English journals. "It is too late to talk," they said. "The thing is done." No single word of encouragement or sympathy was uttered. That is now no longer the case.

The main credit of standing up for the Korean people must be given to a young English journalist, Mr. E. T. Bethell, editor of the *Korea Daily News*. In the summer of 1904, he settled in Seoul as temporary correspondent of a London daily paper, and started a modest bi-lingual journal, the *Korea Daily News*, printed partly in English and partly in Korean. The first number was barely issued before the nation was agitated by the great Nagamori land question. Mr. Bethell took up an attitude of sharp hostility to the granting of the Nagamori claims, and subsequent events have justified him. He came, in consequence, into direct conflict with the Japanese Legation, and after some attempts had been made to win him over



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

MR. E. T. BETHELL, EDITOR OF THE *KOREA DAILY NEWS*.

or secure his silence, it was resolved to crush him. This naturally led to his close association with the Korean Court. The *Daily News* became openly pro-Korean ; its one daily edition was changed into two separate papers—one, the *Dai Han Mal Il Shinpo*, printed in the Korean language, and the other, printed in English, still calling itself by the old name. Several of us thought that Mr. Bethell at first weakened his case by extreme advocacy and by his indulgence in needlessly vindictive writing. Yet it must be remembered, in common justice to him, that he was playing a very difficult part. The Japanese were making his life as uncomfortable as they possibly could, and were doing everything to obstruct his work. His mails were constantly tampered with ; his servants were threatened or arrested on various excuses, and his household was subjected to the closest espionage. He displayed surprising tenacity, and held on month after month without showing any sign of yielding. The complaint of extreme bitterness could not be urged against his journal to the same extent after the spring of 1907. From that time he adopted a more quiet and convincing tone. He attempted on many occasions to restrain what he considered the unwise tactics of some Korean extremists. He opposed the dispatch of the delegates to the Hague, and he did his best to influence public opinion against taking up arms to fight Japan.

Failing to conciliate the editor, the Japanese sought to destroy him. In order to cut the ground from under his feet an opposition paper,

printed in English, was started. An able Japanese journalist, Mr. Zumoto, became the editor. Mr. Zumoto is well known to all who have followed modern Japanese affairs as Prince Ito's leading spokesman in the Press. A member of the Civil Service and ambitious for a diplomatic career, he was taken from his Government work first to be permanent secretary to Ito when Premier, and then to act as editor to the *Japan Times*, the semi-official Japanese Government organ in Tokyo. When Ito was made Resident-General Mr. Zumoto accompanied him as official member of his staff. Let it be said here that few could have done the work in Seoul better than Mr. Zumoto. A broad-minded Japanese, a man of delightful personality and rich culture, he has won the universal esteem of all who know him.

Mr. Zumoto's personal charms, however, failed to enable his paper, the *Seoul Press*, to supplant the *Daily News*. Here we had and have the amazing journalistic situation of two daily papers being published in the English language in a city containing probably not more than a hundred white men. One of these papers is able to keep up a handsome office, with safes, typewriters, and sumptuous electric fittings that would do credit to a daily with a circulation of 50,000. Native journals were also started under Japanese editorship, to compete with the *Dai Han Mal Il Shinpo*. But here again Mr. Bethell's native paper more than held its ground, for the Korean people, as they have told me in parts, regard it as

the only mouthpiece through which they can voice their wrongs.

These Japanese-edited papers have in some cases taken up a decidedly anti-white line. One example may show this. Let me quote from the *Tai Kan Nippo*, a Seoul daily, printed in Korean, but controlled by the Japanese. In the issue of September 6, 1907, it wrote: "It is great folly for our countrymen to believe the flattery of the *Korea Daily News*, and not to realise the approaching danger. They are like Chinese opium-smokers.

"The editor of the *Korea Daily News* is an Englishman, with deep-set eyes and white nose, with white face and yellow hair. The difference between his and our races is great. To-day race is against race. Is it wise for the Korean people to give their confidence to men of another race, and to alienate men of their own race?

"The *Korea Daily News* takes advantage of the ignorance of the Koreans, and secures a large circulation for itself. Be its motives great or small, we are not inclined to discuss them.

"The tone of the paper has done great damage to our country. A ruinous problem confronts us. The Japanese have great interests here. If our people trust their own Government they will support them. If, however, our people follow the guiding of the Englishman Bethell's cooked pen we cannot tell what will happen to them. Separated from their Government and creating strife among their neighbours, their trouble will be very great.

"Asia for the Asiatics and Europe for the

Europeans is the law of nature. The interests of our country and the welfare of the people depend on proximity and friendship. If we turn these upside down the results will be ruinous. Briefly, it is our advice to our own people to trust men of their own colour, and to read no papers but those of their own people, such as the *Whang Sun*, *Che Kuk*, the *Kuk Min*, and our own."

English-speaking papers in the Far East, under Japanese influence, were also called into service against the little Seoul daily. Of these the *Japan Daily Mail* was easily first. This paper is edited by Captain Brinkley, a well-known Irishman formerly in the Japanese Government service and since Foreign Adviser to the premier Japanese shipping company, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Captain Brinkley's great knowledge of Japanese life and language is admitted and admired by all. His independence of judgment is, however, weakened by his close official connection with the Japanese Government, and by his personal interest in Japanese industry. His journal is regarded generally as a Government mouthpiece, and he has succeeded in making himself a more vigorous advocate of the Japanese claims than even the Japanese themselves. It can safely be forecasted that whenever a dispute arises between Japanese and British interests Captain Brinkley and his journal will play the part, through thick and thin, of defenders of the Japanese.

The *Japan Daily Mail* sought to prepare public opinion for the suppression of the *Korea Daily News*. At the end of 1906 it wrote: "Our

own belief is that the most expedient course in this case is the most drastic. Press regulations should be enated such as would bring a paper like the *Korea Daily News* into immediate collision with the criminal law. What is the conceivable use of such a journal and on what moral principle is its editor entitled to publicly ventilate day after day his malevolent prejudices? We cannot see that any place exists for a character of the kind on the stage of legitimate journalism, and as Englishmen we should feel pleased were this persistent enemy of our ally thrust out of sight."

The *Korea Daily News* itself stated its position about the same time:—

"We wish our readers happiness in the coming year. We take advantage of this occasion to say a few words about ourselves, our ideas, and about the people among whom we dwell. Antagonists have on many occasions endeavoured to persuade others that the *Korea Daily News* is by way of being an 'outcast' newspaper; that its existence is precarious, and that it is irresponsible. Further we have noticed that an impression prevails that the outspoken tone which the newspaper has adopted from the first brings the editor into personal danger.

"Nothing could be further from the truth. It is recognised, we believe, by everybody in Korea that we write from conviction and with a full sense of responsibility, and we may add that the Japanese, whose proceedings we have so frequently to call into question, were the first to recognise

this. They have tried to bribe us, it is true, and they have also supplied us with the kind of news which they would like to see published, but in all their dealings with us they have been amiability itself.

“One thorn still sticks in our side, and that is the miserable system of—apparently—irresponsible espionage. This even we hope will presently be done away with.

“So much for our personal affairs, and now for our ideas. From the inception of this newspaper we have held the belief that any interference by Japan in Korean affairs could only be disastrous. We still hold this belief, and are confident that the future will bring our justification. During the war there were many straws which showed us whither the wind was blowing, and it was plain enough that the alleged treaty of November 17, 1905, was the inevitable solution (so far as the Japanese Government was concerned) of an almost impossible situation. The Japanese people were persuaded that the treaty of Portsmouth gave them Korea, and a ceremony resembling annexation had to be carried out.

“All this we realise and appreciate, but we none the less believe that a modification of the ideas of the Japanese people and of the methods of the Japanese Government is imperative or desirable in the near future.

“Korea is not for Japan. This we believe, and shall always believe. Japan's attempts to assume control here can only result in waste of money

and an increase of the ill-feeling which already unmistakably exists.

“It is true that corruption prevails in Korean official circles, but it is equally true that many of the Japanese who have obtained positions here are quite as corrupt as the most corrupt Korean.”

Diplomacy was now brought into play. During the summer of 1906 the Japanese authorities caused a number of articles to be translated from the *Dai Han Mal Il Shinpo*, and submitted them to the British Government, with a request that Mr. Bethell's journals might be suppressed. It must be understood that the British journalist in the Far East occupies a somewhat different position to that of his colleagues at home. He is governed by a series of “Orders in Council” issued by the British Government, and is practically at the mercy of his own Minister, who can, for cause shown, have his paper suppressed and possibly himself expelled from the territory. Several incidents of this kind have occurred. Thus in 1876 Sir Harry Parkes suppressed the *Bankoku Shimbun*, a vernacular Japanese paper, started by Mr. Black, of Yokohama. The contents of this paper were entirely inoffensive, but the Tokyo Government strongly objected to a foreigner issuing a paper in the native language, without being under the control of their Press laws. This led Sir Harry Parkes to issue a notification forbidding British subjects, under severe penalties, from printing or publishing papers in Japanese. Later, Mr. Lillie, editor of the *Siam Free Press*, was deported by the

Government of Siam, on the charge of attacking the Government of the country, permission first having been obtained from the British Minister. There was still another case in Siam where Mr. Tilleke, the proprietor of a journal published in Bangkok, was convicted of crime and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The editor of Mr. Tilleke's journal strongly criticised the sentence, declaring it to be a miscarriage of justice. In consequence an order for his deportation was issued by the acting judge at the Consular Court, and was only held over on his making an apology. The Supreme Court later unanimously quashed Mr. Tilleke's conviction, but this did not affect the power of the Consular Court to punish the editor. So recently as 1904 the British in Northern China were stirred by an attempt to coerce Mr. John Cowen, the editor of the *China Times*. Mr. Cowen had been writing somewhat freely about the action of the Russian authorities during the war, and the Consul-General at Tientsin ordered him to find security that he would not repeat the offence, and threatened him with deportation. The journalist defied the Consul-General, and in the end won.

It can be understood that when the news went abroad that the Japanese authorities were attempting to persuade the British Government to suppress the *Korea Daily News*, it caused considerable interest to all Far Eastern residents. In order to strengthen the hands of the authorities on the spot the British Foreign Office issued, early in 1907, a fresh series of "Orders in Council" dealing with



Photograph by]

JOURNALISM IN KOREA : A GROUP OF SUB-EDITORS.

[F. A. McKenzie.



British journalism in the Far East. The heads of the British Legation in Tokyo, who are, perhaps not unnaturally, whole-hearted advocates of the Japanese cause, were very sympathetic towards a policy of vigorous action. In September, 1907, Mr. Cockburn, the British Consul-General, at Seoul visited Tokyo, and it was common talk at the time that he had been summoned there to discuss what should be done with the *Daily News* and its obstinate editor.

The blow fell soon after Mr. Cockburn's return. On Saturday, October 12th, Mr. Bethell received a summons to appear on the following Monday at a specially appointed Consular Court, to answer the charge of adopting a course of action likely to cause a breach of the peace. Proceedings were taken, not as had been expected under the revised "Order" issued in 1907, but under Article 83 of the China and Korea Order in Council of 1904:—

"Where it is proved that there is reasonable ground to apprehend that a British subject is about to commit a breach of the public peace—or that the acts or conduct of a British subject are or is likely to produce or excite to a breach of the public peace—the Court may, if it thinks fit, cause him to be brought before it, and require him to give security, to the satisfaction of the Court, to keep the peace or for his future good behaviour, as the case may require."

The trial took place in the Consular buildings, Mr. Cockburn acting as judge. The short notice made it impossible for Mr. Bethell to obtain counsel

or legal advice, as there are no English lawyers in Seoul, and he would have had to send to Shanghai or Kobe. This placed him at an obvious disadvantage. He had to plead his own cause with practically no preparation, without legal knowledge, and without trained advice. I have no wish here to make the slightest reflection on Mr. Cockburn's personal attitude in this case, for he has won the high esteem and confidence of all under him. He was acting as the mouthpiece and agent of his superiors in Tokyo, and it would be unfair to saddle him with responsibility.

Eight articles were produced in court as the basis of the charge against Mr. Bethell, some of these having appeared in the *Korea Daily News*, some in the *Dai Han Mal Il Shinpo*, and some in both papers. Six articles were comments on or descriptions of the fighting then taking place in the interior. One dealt with the proposed visit of the Crown Prince of Japan to Korea, and one was an article in Korean, urging the people to value and cherish their independence. The articles on the fighting were no stronger than, if as strong, as the statements which I myself have made in the previous chapters of this book, when telling what I saw on my autumn journey. In order that a fair judgment may be passed I print the articles verbatim at the end of this chapter.

The trial, trivial as it may have appeared to some, was yet the most deadly blow struck at the freedom of the British Press within this generation. None, however, would have imagined its

seriousness by the looseness of the proceedings. Mr. Bethell, not being a lawyer, was unable to take advantage of the hundred and one points that arose in his favour. He wanted to know who was the real complainant in the case. The charge had been nominally advanced by Mr. Holmes, a member of the staff at the British Consulate, but it was obvious that he was merely a cover for the real movers. When the accused asked at whose instigation the proceedings were taken, the judge refused to permit the question to be answered. One official of the Japanese Residency-General, Mr. Komatz, came forward and swore that, in his opinion, the ill-feeling between the Japanese and Koreans was caused by Mr. Bethell's two papers. Bishop Turner was called upon to testify that the Koreans were hostile to the Japanese. His evidence could not have been quite palatable to the Japanese themselves.

THE JUDGE. Are there any Koreans in Seoul who hold anti-Japanese opinions? In other words, what is the feeling of the Korean people towards the Japanese in Korea?

BISHOP TURNER. In conversation with Koreans I have certainly noticed a very strong feeling against the Japanese.

THE JUDGE. Do you from your general knowledge think the feeling widespread?

THE BISHOP. Yes, I do.

THE JUDGE. Widespread?

THE BISHOP. Yes, very widespread.

Another witness, Major Hughes, the only one

called for the defence, declared that in his opinion Mr. Bethell's articles were not calculated to excite a breach of the public peace. The judge's decision was as anticipated. He convicted the editor, and ordered him to enter into recognisances of £300 to be of good behaviour for six months. The *Korea Daily News* itself, in commenting on the matter, said, "The effect of the judgment is that for a period of six months this newspaper will be gagged, and therefore no further reports of Japanese reverses can be published in our columns."

The last has not yet been heard of this case. The British Foreign Office, upon which the real responsibility must lie, has by its action placed itself among those who condone the doings of the Japanese troops in the interior, for it was mainly on the publication of the details of the acts of these troops that the charges were based. It is impossible to think that our Foreign Office should have moved in this way for any other reason than from want of knowledge, and it has yet to be seen if British public opinion will permit British officials to silence those who, despite possible faults of style and maybe, in the opinion of some, faults of taste, are making a fight, and a fight against heavy odds, for justice to a weaker race.

The articles in the *Korea Daily News*, on which the charges were based, were as follows:—

September 2, 1907.

"We have repeatedly commented upon the manner in which Japan has gone to work to subjugate Korea,

and reports that have just reached us from the country are illustrative of the unpleasant and unnecessary methods she is now using. If it is the desire of the authorities to create a terrible race hatred among the Korean people for Japan, we can only say that their desire will be consummated very rapidly, unless the great question of humanity is a little more studied.

"On Saturday afternoon last two Korean ex-soldiers were shot by Japanese troops outside the west gate of the city of Su Won. The officer in charge then drew his sword, and going up to the two poor wretches who were dying, plunged it into their stomachs, almost disembowelling them.

"The act has caused great excitement and rage in the city, and as a result, when four more men were led out to be shot on Sunday, all Koreans were forbidden to approach within a quarter of a mile of the place of execution. Japanese civilians were, however, allowed to be present.

"At Yong-san on Saturday evening a Korean and his wife, the latter with a baby tied to her back, were quietly walking along the high-road near the Japanese barracks, when a Japanese soldier, without any reason, fired at them.

"The bullet struck the woman in the side, killing her instantly. The baby's fingers on one hand were blown to pieces.

"In wild despair the husband rushed to the barracks and poured out the tragic tale to the officer. He was listened to, and then offered a small sum of money as compensation. On his refusing, he was driven out into the road. No information can be

obtained as to whether the murderer has been punished or not ; but it is safe to assume that no notice has been taken of his act.

“In the peaceful little village of Cha Ma-Chang, just a few miles from the east gate of Seoul, the Japanese soldiers on their way to I-Chhon and Chang Chu have caused considerable trouble. They are compelling the local farmers to act as their coolies, and on refusal seize them by force and carry them away. The women have also been assaulted, and the whole village is in a state of terror.

“The farmers argue very logically that it is unfair to expect them to act as baggage coolies to Japanese soldiers. They reason that as good Korean patriots it is unreasonable to expect them to carry ammunition that will be used to shoot down their fellow-countrymen ; as if they do, they are likely to be attacked and fired upon by other Koreans. That no wages are paid for their services ; that they are not coolies, but are respectable farmers ; and that it is a busy time just now in the fields and the crops cannot be neglected. These reasons would appear convincing to most, but have no effect on the officers.

“On the Coronation Day several men were seized and marched off with heavily-laden jiggies at the point of the bayonet. Ponies are being commandeered in all directions, whilst no payment is offered for anything that is taken. The majority of the villagers have fled to the mountains.

“If the latter incidents happen within a few miles of Seoul, one is tempted to ask what is going on far out in the country.”

September 10, 1907.

“ The trouble in the interior has become so serious that the Japanese military authorities have decided to use extreme measures to stamp it out. The proclamation of General Baron Hasegawa, Acting Resident-General and military Commander-in-Chief, is one of those frank announcements which, although possibly necessary, create feelings of horror and pity. Horror, because of the ruthlessness of the order ; pity, because of the tragedies and sufferings that are inevitable among the people. Over all these hangs the supreme tragedy : the hopelessness of the struggle. One is compelled to admire the misguided patriotism of the people who have determined to strike a blow for their country and die. It is the highest order of courage ; it is also the most pitiful.

“ The proclamation orders the destruction of all villages where insurrection has taken place. Such an order should be the last resort of all ; for it means the carrying on of war against women and children and aged people. It means suffering unutterable ; it means the murder of the defenceless. The situation is not so bad as to really cause the adoption of extreme measures. Gentler methods could have been used to suppress the trouble, and could have been used effectually. The bitter winter will soon be here ; and the burning of entire villages and towns is simply inexcusable. As a last resort it might have been pardonable ; but in the present condition of affairs it is a revival of barbaric methods.

“What is the condition of things in Korea? In the south about 2,000 people have risen and attacked the Japanese officers. The majority of them are armed with old weapons. Artillery, they are without. To replenish their stock of ammunition is very difficult, whilst their organisation is of a rather low order. Against them we have trained Japanese troops with the latest magazine rifles, with light, quick-firing machine guns, and with infinite resources so far as reinforcements and commissariat are concerned. If it is impossible for the Japanese, with these advantages over the Koreans, to suppress the rising without burning to the ground hundreds and thousands of houses, then we have to say that the army now in Korea has sadly deteriorated in comparison with the Japanese armies who fought in Manchuria. The ancients had a saying that those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. The critic of Japan may well remember this old aphorism; for if Japan persists in carrying out these extreme methods of suppression she will succeed in building up a race hatred quite as fierce and quite as relentless as Oliver Cromwell did among the people of Ireland.

“Marquis Ito, for the apparent purpose of obtaining publicity abroad, has sought to make it understood that Japan's policy in Korea is a conciliatory one. General Hasegawa has by his proclamation taken the wind out of Marquis Ito's sails. We may say, however, that General Hasegawa is acting under instructions from Tokyo, which have been sent to him with the complete approval of Marquis Ito.

And so we have Marquis Ito openly preaching the gospel of conciliation, and we have General Hasegawa, who is the Acting Resident-General, promising the destruction of all Koreans who are suspected of disaffection. There are two orators and two platforms. Marquis Ito addresses himself in velvet to the civilised nations. General Hasegawa threatens the Koreans with the armed forces of Japan. Of General Hasegawa's proclamation we have little to say; but the inducements which are extended to Koreans to betray their neighbours or friends are very clearly not in accordance with the ideas of honour which prevail amongst Western nations, and fall far behind the standard which two Japanese barons so sedulously sought to impress upon the white man in Europe and America during Japan's travail."

September 12, 1907.

"The rising in the south of Korea is now marked with the worst attributes of warfare. It is no longer civilised warfare; it has developed into war without mercy. We by no means wish to insinuate that it is only the Japanese who are the offenders. On the contrary, we freely admit that the Korean insurgents have copied the examples of the Japanese soldiers and are burning houses and killing people. We would merely like to point out that the authorities started these methods and that the Koreans have followed suit. They have evidently an understanding of the old proverb, 'What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.'

“Reliable information has reached us from the interior, and we publish it without comment. Our informant deals with the condition of things in Chhung-Chhung-Do. He arrived on Tuesday evening from Pyeng Tak, having walked from his home near Chhung-Chu city. He reports that for a distance of nearly seventy li along the high-road from Chei Chyen city the Japanese troops have burned to the ground every village and every house. The desolation is appalling. There is nothing left but ruins and smoking straw.

“On Monday last the magistrate of Chin-Tchun called in the aid of fifty Japanese soldiers, and the townsmen having provided the soldiers with whatever they required, the volunteers held a meeting, and decided to punish what they considered treachery on the part of their countrymen. A few hours later they assembled in large numbers and attacked the town.

“At the first signs of attack the insurgents fled to the hills, upon which the volunteers then attacked the Japanese garrison of fifty men. They defeated the Japanese, killing eight soldiers and driving the rest in the direction of An Song. They then burnt the entire town, which is by no means a small one. The Korean volunteers are using ancient rifles, and are said to be short of ammunition, but during this fight they captured a considerable number of modern rifles and a fair amount of ammunition.

“At the same time another body of volunteers ambuscaded a small party of Japanese soldiers in one of the valleys in the mountains, and killed them all.



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

JOURNALISM IN KOREA : THE COMPOSITORS' ROOM OF A
DAILY PAPER.

“In Chhung-Chu city there are over 1,000 Japanese soldiers. The officers have adopted the old methods of warfare, for they are paying practically nothing for the stores they seize. It is also reported, but we do not vouch for the report, that the soldiers are killing both women and children.

“Thousands of non-combatants have been robbed and rendered houseless by the Japanese soldiers, which has naturally resulted in a large increase of the volunteer forces.”

September 21, 1907.

“Telegraphic messages from Tokyo, which reached us this morning, say that the Crown Prince of Japan, Prince Yoshi-hito, will arrive in Seoul on October 10th, on a ‘visit of inspection.’ This visit appears to make a departure from the tradition which has hitherto been observed when the two nations have held intercourse with each other. Korea has had many visitors from Japan who carried messages from one Emperor to the other, and has always reciprocated on equal terms, but this expedition, uninvited, to the best of our belief, to Korea, is a very distinct advance from a ceremonial point of view, upon anything which Japan has so far attempted in Korea; and we cannot see, much as we must admire the Imperial family of Japan, how this new step can conduce in any way to the improvement of the relations between the two countries, especially at a time when Japanese troops are butchering Korean patriots—misguided surely, but still patriots.

“And what has become of the Imperial House

of Korea? To all intents and purposes the Emperor is now suffering at Japanese hands in much the same way as the common Korean people have suffered for some years. He is being quartered upon. No one can imagine for a moment that the Emperor spontaneously invited the Crown Prince of Japan to come to Korea. Neither can it be believed that the weak Emperor looks forward to the coming visitation with feelings other than those of the greatest trepidation.

“It was only two days ago, possibly in anticipation of the visit of H.I.J.H. the Prince Yoshi-hito, that the retired Emperor and the reigning Emperor were separated from each other on orders of the men who comprise the Cabinet Council. This separation rudely broke a companionship which had continued unbroken for over a quarter of a century; as for this time the Emperor and his father lived, ate, and slept in the same house.

“The present Emperor can by no means be described as a strong man. The retired Emperor had his weaknesses, but had many accomplishments which enabled him to preserve his balance upon the throne so long as he did. If common report is correct, the new Emperor has none of these advantages, and the separation from his father will probably leave him more than ever at sea.

“That this separation was forcible is clear to every one who lives at Seoul, and that it carries behind it further designs upon Korea—Independence, Integrity, Welfare, Imperial Dignity, and so forth—is generally apprehended. During the war the brick

which the Japanese most frequently threw at the Koreans was labelled 'intrigue.' And now in our humble way we heave that brick back to where it belongs."

September 24, 1907.

"We have received a long letter from a valued correspondent (a foreigner) concerning the trouble in the interior. He has only recently returned from the scene, and he writes of things that he saw. Our correspondent is an unbiassed man with no axe to grind for either party.

"He says: 'This business is a big thing. The Japanese by their methods are either deliberately or through ignorance and incapacity causing it to grow rapidly. In Chhin-Chun Eup the Eui-pyeng, or Righteous Army, drove out two Japanese who had somehow got possession of Korean houses and burnt their belongings. On September 9th twenty-seven Japanese soldiers entered the town and burnt sixty-five houses; I saw these myself, and they were nothing more than a heap of ashes. The Kun gu's official residence was destroyed, and part of the large house of Mr. Yi Han Eung. The Japanese then took possession of the remaining part of the house and slept in it, having driven the owners away, and after a few days left it in a filthy condition. They even dragged doors and windows off their hinges, pulled the paper off the walls and strewed filth, fragments of cigarettes, food, and broken beer-bottles throughout the best rooms of the house. As the owner of the house had already been beaten by the volunteers

for refusing to aid them (he is a rich man) the Japanese acts of vandalism at his house seem somewhat unnecessary and inhuman.

““Whilst I was in this town a body of ten volunteers passed through in the evening. It was a moving sight to see these poor patriots marching in single file with their ancient muskets slung over their right shoulder and a fuse in their left hand. They were perfectly orderly and quiet and made no disturbance in the town whatever.

““I was twice accosted by the Eui-pyeng in my travels, but was always treated politely. One of them told me that they were glad to see any foreigners in the country, except the Japanese, and that they wished to learn from foreigners mechanical and other arts, and were determined to save their country or die in the attempt.

““Both here and in every other village where I stopped I warned Koreans of the uselessness of fighting for their independence as things are now, and implored them to bear their humiliation for a number of years, during which they must acquire Western arts and sciences, and not to put their trust in Russia, England, China, America, or any other nation, but to trust in the future and prepare themselves to be ready to claim their independence when the time comes.

““They were quite respectful but determined to fight on. I hope, however, that I have deterred many from joining them, and I may say without boasting that I believe I have done more to pacify the Koreans than any Japanese in this country. One Korean,

pointing to his ruined home, said to me, "Our religion teaches us to love our enemies, but it is very hard to love the Japanese when you see that sort of thing."

"Not a single Japanese soldier or civilian did I see, and only one or two fugitive Koreans with their hair cut, not one individual displayed in foreign elastic-sided boots and green or purple stockings. It was a disappointment.

"In one village I was in, the Eui-pyeng captured a member of the notorious Il Chin Hoi, but although I inquired very carefully, I could not hear that they had done him any damage.

"The people all speak well of the Eui-pyeng, whom they declare to be strictly disciplined and well officered. The Japanese, guided by men of the Il Chin Hoi, men who are now the avowed, but who always have been the real, enemies of their country, go about in considerable numbers, and live the life of ruthless brigands. They live by plunder and theft, and destroy wherever they go. At the same time they are utterly incapable of suppressing the disturbances, which grow rapidly under the inhuman outrages.

"These freebooters pillage, assault, and kill wherever they go. One village I was in the people were full of deep wrath because they had shot a small boy who was cutting firewood on the hillside. He was quite alone, they told me, and there were none of the Eui-pyeng within miles of the place. They plunder isolated villages, and seize horses and oxen. They never pay a cent for anything, and no one is safe from their violence and greed. To call

the Righteous Army rebels is ridiculous when one goes among them and realises that they are fighting for home and country against a set of ruffians.

“I saw four places where engagements had been fought. At one place it had been a drawn battle, the Japanese retiring with five killed. The other three were Japanese victories, owing to the long range of their rifles and their superior ammunition; and only one of their victories was obtained without casualties to themselves. I saw enough to realise that it was no picnic for the Japanese.

“The Chinese are about as usual in all the places I visited, and everybody is perfectly safe, with the exception of the Japanese and the Il Chin Hoi.

“One is forced to ask who is in charge of these men who are nothing more than brigands. Their mode of warfare seems to be purposely designed to stir every honest man into a frenzy. Is this their object? If not, why do they practise so wicked, so mad a policy? Let the authorities either police the whole disaffected districts effectually and properly, or else confess their incapacity for controlling Korea.

“In spite of all this misery and destruction the harvest promises well in most parts; while, although there has been so long a drought, the rice crop is on the whole a heavy one. Even now, by the constant attention and clever manipulation of the water supply, many of the rows are still covered with two or three inches of that most necessary element.’

“So writes our correspondent. We make no comment. It is needless.”

September 26, 1907.

“We are informed that a bad fight took place about eight miles from Su-won on Sunday, September 12th. Thirty volunteers were surrounded by Japanese troops, and although no resistance was offered, were shot down in the most cold-blooded fashion. This not being quite enough to satisfy the conquerors, two other volunteers who had been captured were brought out and were decapitated by one of the officers. We may mention that this news does not come from native sources; it comes from European.”

October 1, 1907.

“Reliable information from the south states that on the 26th ult. several Japanese soldiers arrived in Yea San and arrested Mr. Yi Nam Kiu, a former high official in the district. In their anxiety his son and servants followed the party and begged to know the reason of the seizure, upon which the soldiers opened fire upon them, killing the majority. They then put Mr. Yi against a post and shot him.”

The article which appeared solely in the *Dai Han Mai Il Shinpo* (October 1st) was:—

“VALUING THAT WHICH IS VALUABLE.

“Oh! Korean nation! Is not independence the most valuable thing in the world?

“The rights of a people exist by virtue of the independence of their country, and the more com-

plete the independence the fuller the rights of the people. If independence is impaired so are the rights of the people, and if it is completely lost the rights of the people are lost with it. Independence is the life and soul, body and limbs of a nation. Having it, a nation lives, without it, it dies; therefore the two words Tok-lip (Independence) represent one of the most valuable things in the world, difficult to obtain and difficult to keep.

“Even the Jewel of Bouhoo and the Jade of Whasi were not easily obtained or carelessly guarded; therefore how much more difficult it is to obtain and maintain that independence which concerns the life or death of a whole race of people!

“Think! What are the histories of the struggles for independence in America, Greece, and Italy? How many patriots suffered great misery? How many lost all they had, and how many lost their lives?

“The glorious independence of these nations now shines to the four directions of the compass, yet the blessings which the present generations enjoy were purchased with the blood of their ancestors.

“Korea came by her independence easily; the nation did not struggle for it and the people did not suffer to obtain it. It was a gift from God, and, coming easily, was lightly guarded. The people did not try to appreciate the nature of the gift and the value of national independence. An ancient philosopher has written that if a man receives 1,000 taels of gold without cause, great blessings or great calamities will befall him. Independence came to us

without any effort on our part, and great calamity was therefore to come to us.

“If directly we had received our independence we had devoted ourselves to strengthening and conserving our new position, and if our Government and all political parties had united to work unceasingly for the progress and enlightenment of our people, then great blessings would have been ours and the foundations of independence laid ten years ago would have been rendered safe. With no appreciation of the value of independence, we did the exact opposite. Not valuing the blessings of God, we spent in idle pleasure the time and energy which should have been devoted to education and the strengthening of the nation. We spurned the gift of God, and our unhappy condition to-day is our own fault. Independence, the great safeguard of a nation, came to us easily, and, valuing it lightly, we lost it almost at once. Chomeng once gave away something he valued, but finding that it was not appreciated, he stole it back again, and similarly those who gave us independence have now deprived us of it.

“History tells us that the independence of the United States, Italy, and Greece was only gained after many years of affliction and trouble, and by the loss of many thousands of lives, and in the same way the people of Korea must pay the proper price before they attain full happiness. There are usually failures before success is reached, and why, therefore should our hearts fail us now and our footsteps falter?

“Our independence, to be complete, must be

gained by our own efforts and held by our own strength. Let our watchword, then, be 'Independence'; and though our troubles be infinite, let us not break even though we are bent ten thousand times, and in the end we shall shake off outside oppression and restraint and once more build up an independent nation.

"If we do this, we shall prove our capacity to the world; if we do not, there will be no place for us in all the wide world or on all the broad ocean.

"Therefore consider this and act."

CHAPTER XX

THE PROSPECTS FOR FOREIGN TRADE

UP to the year 1904 Korea presented a possible and expanding field for British trade and British influence. The Customs Service was under an Englishman. British houses had their branches in Chemulpho and elsewhere. British goods, more particularly cottons, were acquiring an ever-growing market, and our Open Door rights were made secure by treaty. To-day the British chief of the Customs has gone and a Japanese has taken his place. The numerous European assistants in the Customs Service have nearly all been sent adrift and their positions occupied by a greatly augmented number of Japanese. While we still have a nominal Open Door, it is freely charged that Japanese merchants are able to bring their goods into the country on more advantageous terms than our own people. Our trade in Korea is doomed as surely as our Formosan trade was doomed when Japan took over that island. The Residency-General has adopted on the surface a policy of encouragement to the foreigner, but in truth a policy of exclusion.

The encouragement is confined to gracious words and fair promises, but the reality consists of conditions so onerous and uncertain that foreign capitalists will not put fresh money into the land.

It was perhaps natural that, when Japan took over Korea, one of the earliest rules of the Residency-General was that Japanese should be employed for every service, and that contracts should always go to Japanese firms wherever they could possibly supply the goods. It was reasonable, too, that the Residency-General should seek to improve the old loose and uncertain methods of granting concessions. But it was soon found that under the seeming fairness in trade regulations provisos were inserted that would hopelessly cripple any non-Japanese.

This can be well illustrated by the case of the mining laws. When the Japanese came to Korea in 1904 there was good promise of considerable mining enterprise in the country. Representatives of various nations had already secured concessions, and the American mines yielded high profits. Great financial groups in London, Paris, and New York had their representatives on the spot, seeking power to open up fresh fields. The Japanese first announced that they would delay granting any concessions until proper regulations should be framed. Japanese prospectors were given a free hand to travel over the country, while the white prospectors were kept back. Then, in 1906, the new mining regulations appeared. In many respects these were fair and even liberal, but they

were wholly vitiated by certain clauses which placed the holders of the rights entirely at the mercy of the Minister of Agriculture, a Japanese-appointed official. Articles 9 and 10 declared that the owners of a mining right could not amalgamate, divide, sell, assign, or mortgage a claim without permission from the Minister of Agriculture. Article 11 gave the same Minister the right to stop all operations at will. "In case the holder of a mining right does not carry on operations properly, or when his method of work is considered to involve danger, or to be injurious to public interests, the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry shall order the required improvement or precautionary measures or the suspension of operations." In Article 12 the power of absolute forfeiture was laid down. "The Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, may revoke the permission to carry on mining operations when the mining operations are considered to be injurious to public interests."

The result of this has been what one would expect. Great financiers now refuse to advance money for Korean enterprises; the biggest syndicate of all is withdrawing from the country, and British engineers, known to me, are, as I write this in London, looking for fresh engagements because the Japanese mining regulations have made it impossible for them to continue their work in Korea. No one will put half a million of money in mining development and plant to have before him the possibility of it being confiscated at the whim of an official. "We have refused no English requests for a mining

right," the Japanese say. No, but they have made the mining rights not worth having, or certainly not worth investing the heavy sums in development that are necessary if good work is to be done.

There has been considerable talk during the last year of a Customs alliance between Japan and Korea. This is advocated by men like Count Okuma, who call insistently for the sweeping away of old Korean treaties. The foreign merchants in Korea believe that unless active steps are taken this union will come, and they point out that, if it comes, the last vestiges of their trade will be taken away. Foreign goods would then have to pay the high Japanese tariff when brought into Korea, and Japanese goods would be admitted free. The probability of this coming to pass is wholly denied by the responsible authorities at the Residency-General. "Only the greedy commercial party in Japan wants it," a high official once assured me. There are great difficulties in the way of carrying out such a proposal. It could not be done without the consent of the various Powers possessing treaty rights with Korea. Japan might, of course, denounce such treaties and refuse to acknowledge them further, but such a course would do her so much harm that it is not likely to be followed. From the point of view of the Residency-General the step is undesirable at this time, because it would destroy one of the principal sources of Korean revenue.

There is an old and true story of how some years after Korea had been opened to foreign trade a foreign Minister rose in the House of Commons to reply to a question on the Hermit Kingdom. "The



Photograph by]

[F. A. McKenzie.

JAPANESE INFANTRY OUT AGAINST KOREANS.



honourable member asks if we are taking steps to protect British trade in Korea," he said. "There is no such thing as British trade there. There is not a single British firm in Korea, and no British goods go there." At the time one of the leading British houses in the Far East had been settled in Chemulpho for eighteen months, and was doing well. But word of this enterprise had not yet reached Downing Street.

No one can deny the reality of British trade in Korea now. But there is still danger that the same indifference in official circles may sweep it away. I refuse to contemplate the possibility of our Government giving its consent to the abrogation of our Open Door rights there. But, apart from so extreme a measure, we are permitting other things to go on that cannot fail to harm us. One of the most annoying and dangerous of these is the free sale of Japanese fraudulent imitation of well-known British goods. This affects our trade not only in Korea, but also in Manchuria and China. Not long since I was walking through a town in Northern Asia with an American Consul stationed there. My friend pointed out to me article after article in the big stores with an English label, but which we could see in a moment were nothing but the bogus products of an Osaka factory. "You British are wonderful people," he said. "You make good things and earn a high reputation for them. Then you will allow a sneaking little Japanese trader to spread the vilest counterfeits of your stuff all over Asia. Your reputation is destroyed, not merely for those particular

goods, but for many others. And yet you do not even protest, and you have no officials on the spot to safeguard your interests."

Early last year English commercial men were aroused by the reports of an amazing case in Japan, which shed vivid light on the difficulties before our manufacturers there. The Japanese agents for "Black and White" whisky summoned a man, Nishiwaka, for imitating their trade mark. Nishikawa made no secret of the fact that he had copied the "Black and White" trade-mark as closely as he could. "I wanted to make the whisky look as much as possible as though it had been imported from abroad, and I considered the 'Black and White' the best," he told the court. For all practical purposes the two labels—I have seen both—were not distinguishable. There was no dispute about the facts, and there was no question that people had been deceived. The court dismissed the charge, on the ground that it did not constitute an offence in Japanese law. This decision has been upheld on appeal.

The "Black and White" case was only a very bad instance of what is going on constantly. In Korea British trade feels the result of this. When you buy English goods in the Japanese quarter in Seoul you must look very carefully at the label. Usually, a mis-spelled word or a letter turned upside down gives away the imitation. A friend of mine bought a so-called Christy's hat for her little boy. The boy went out in the rain and was soaked. The hat promptly went soft and shapeless, the lining came

out, and underneath the lining was a padding of Japanese newspapers.

The British merchant and manufacturer have a right to expect that their Government will do something to protect them against this kind of unfair competition. Friendly representations to the Japanese Government would go far to check it. The Japanese imitation is destroying the reputation of the British original from Canton to Harbin.

The piece-goods trade in Korea is gradually being wiped out by Japanese competition. A paragraph from the report of Messrs. Noël, Murray & Co., of Shanghai, last August, gives the attitude of the leading British houses engaged in this business in the Far East.

“The feelings of many of the British import houses here who have been for years interested in the trade of Korea can better be imagined than described as they see its total extinction slowly but surely getting nearer and nearer. Probably because the British trade with that country does not figure to any great extent in the Board of Trade Returns, the Government does not consider the actions of Japan towards that country are worthy of notice. But for years past a steady trade in Manchester goods have been done through Shanghai, and this is altogether doomed if Japan is quietly allowed to absorb the trade, as she is evidently trying to do, by bringing about a Customs Union. The report that the United States is willing to aid and abet her in doing so, as a sop to counteract the awkward situation that has been raised over the immigration

question, is only natural, considering her commercial relations with Korea are of no importance. It is, however, quite time a halt was called and a re-valuation made of the Open Door and 'fair field and no favour' protestations that were so much to the fore a few years ago both with regard to the Manchurian and Korean trades."

Those who explain the expansion of Japanese commerce in Korea solely by unfair means make a serious mistake. The Japanese traders are showing great enterprise in many ways. Not unnaturally, they secure subsidies wherever they can, both from the Japanese and Korean Governments. One of their successful methods was displayed last September when a big exhibition was opened in the centre of Seoul. The exhibition secured a heavy grant of money from the Korean Government and was run under direct official patronage. Great efforts were made to compel the new Emperor to open it in person. But the Emperor was obstinate, and refused to come. Parties of geisha and oiran, dressed in scarlet knickers and fancy garments, paraded the streets with music, advertising the show. There were constant geisha entertainments in the grounds, and everything was done to attract the people.

The exhibition was mainly a display of Japanese manufactured goods of all kinds, with a few general educational items added. I searched carefully for Korean or foreign articles, but all that I could find were reputed French wines, displayed by a Japanese firm. Koreans attended in great num-

bers, and the exhibition resulted in a great impetus to the sale of Japanese goods in Korea.

The articles shown might have been a revelation to those who are still inclined to pooh-pooh Japanese manufactures. They were nearly all, it is true, imitations of European designs. In furniture, in pottery, in foods, in medicines, the one idea seemed to be to approach the European styles as closely as possible. The European discovers much to amuse him in the little variations between these copies and our own originals. The Korean buyer, however, does not notice the difference. To him the Japanese imitation is as good as the other. It is far cheaper. It is pushed on him by a man who speaks his language and knows his ways. No wonder that it sells, while the European wares lie unpacked in the warehouse.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WIDER VIEW

THE policy of Japan in Korea to-day cannot be fully understood unless it is regarded not as an isolated manifestation, but as a part of a great Imperial scheme. Japan has set out to be a supreme world-Power, and she is rapidly realising her ambition. Yesterday her territory was limited, her people were desperately poor, her army and fleet were thought to be negligible quantities, and her aspirations were pityingly looked upon as the fevered dreams of an undeveloped people. To-day we are in danger of over-estimating the Japanese force and strength as greatly as yesterday our fathers underestimated it. Japan has found Imperialism a costly, dangerous, and burdensome policy. Her navy and her army have won her world-glory, but she is still struggling and staggering under a load that even yet may be too much for her.

Japanese statesmen realise that they must have fresh territories in which to settle their people. Their own land is crowded and over-populated. Each year sees an increase of from 600,000 to 700,000 people. The 33,000,000 in the Japan of 1872 are now just on

50,000,000, and the rate of increase grows greater each year. The vast majority of these people are still very poor, and Japan to-day has slums in her cities and problems of child-labour, sweated labour, and starvation, rivalling those of Western nations. Unbacked by great natural resources or by considerable reserves of wealth, her Government is trying to carry through the most gigantic and costly of tasks on a foundation of patriotism and splendid national spirit.

For myself, necessary as I have thought it to be in carrying out my duty as a publicist to criticise the more dangerous sides of this expansion, I cannot but feel the most profound and genuine respect for the loyalty and high racial ambitions that have carried the nation so far. The casual visitor to Japan to-day sees great and glaring faults, but those of us who have lived longer among her people and have gone deeper into her problems, wonder not that there are faults, but that development has reached a stage when faults are noted.

Not long since I was on the train from Seoul to Fusan. It was five hours late. It had broken down twice. The locomotive, badly cleaned and badly handled, was scarce able to drag its load, and carriages had been discarded to lighten it.

Some of us, standing in the Korean station—wet, cold, and miserable—were passing caustic remarks about Japanese engine-drivers and the way they muddled and misused their engines. A quiet Scotsman turned on us with a single question. "Do you ever reflect," he asked, "on the wonder

that these people can do as well as they do? Think of it," he continued. "The driver was probably two years ago an agricultural labourer in a village, and had never seen an engine. He is running this train badly, it is true, but he is running it, and in twelve months' time he will be handling it well. What man of another nation could have done the same?"

The quiet Scotsman had touched the heart of the problem. It is barely thirty years since Japan was still torn in the struggle between feudalism and modernity. The men who to-day are managing cotton mills wore, in their younger manhood, two swords and fantastic armour. Yesterday the *kiheitai* (irregular soldiers) walked through their districts armed to the teeth, terrorising peaceful farmers; now the same *kiheitai* work their ten hours a day in the factory for fifteen pence. Yesterday the dainty wife sat modestly at home waiting for her lord to return from his political brawls; to-day the same wife is busy over the spinning-jenny in the factory, while her lord is doing his share in shop or warehouse. The thing is a world-miracle, and the longer one contemplates it the greater the miracle appears.

Japan has broken her solemn promises to Korea and has evaded in every way her pledged obligations to maintain the policy of equal opportunities, because she is driven thereto by heavy taxation, by the poverty of her people, and by the necessity of obtaining fresh markets and new lands for settlement. Her people are now the most heavily taxed in proportion to income of any in the world. At the beginning of

the Russo-Japanese War a scheme of Imperial taxation was instituted that was thought to reach the final extreme possible to bear as a national war burden. This taxation was further increased in 1905, it being understood that the extraordinary special taxes were to be abolished on the last day of the year following the restoration of peace. The land tax was increased during the war from 120 to 700 per cent., the business tax 150 per cent., the income tax from 80 to 270 per cent., and the sugar duties from 100 to 195 per cent. There were also various other increases. Great national industries, such as tobacco and railways, were nationalised, and Japan succeeded in sending up her ordinary income from £25,000,000 to over £40,000,000. At the end of the war the Government announced that under existing circumstances the promised remission of the war tax could not be carried out, so they were kept on to their full extent. Now for the financial year of 1908-9 the Government is compelled to impose a number of taxes over and above the war burden, and despite this it is faced by the probability of a heavy deficit next year.

So long as Japan could meet the deficiency by foreign loans, the problem of making both ends meet was capable of easy solution. But the most optimistic financier hesitates, at the present time, to suggest a loan either in the European or American markets. For months a careful campaign has been waged to enable a new loan to be floated in Paris, but so far without success. The Manchurian Railway issue was an open failure, although only half

of the money really needed was asked for. The Japanese Finance Commissioners who were in Europe last summer returned home disappointed. "You can rest assured," one of them was told by a leading financial authority, "that Europe has not another sovereign to lend Japan for increased armaments."

The monetary difficulties have been increased by the disastrous results of commercial speculation in the summer of 1907, when large numbers of banks and institutions failed. The situation is such to-day that the Government must decide on one of two alternatives. It must either reduce expenditure, and thus limit some of its cherished schemes, or it must find excuse for an aggressive campaign against its wealthy neighbour, China. It is this which may explain the Japanese breaches of the Open Door policy. The Government, no doubt, feels that it cannot afford to miss anything that would expand its commerce and improve its national income.

The financial problem has led, in turn, to the labour problem. The inevitable result of high taxation has been to raise the cost of living. It is probably an understatement that the cost of living has doubled in Japan in a few years.

One outcome of this rise in the cost of living has been a series of formidable strikes, particularly among the miners—strikes often accompanied by violence and loss of life. In April last several hundred miners at the Horolai coal-mine attempted to destroy the mine buildings, fought the police, wounding five of them, and set fire to the mine

offices and the go-downs, using dynamite to destroy the buildings.

At the Ashio copper-mine the men rose, cut down the telegraph lines, extinguished all the lights in the pits, blew up the watch-houses with dynamite, and started a general riot. A bomb was thrown into the watch-house and blew it to atoms. The rioters were thoroughly organised, and had supplies of kerosene and explosives for their work. In the end a heavy body of troops and over 300 police had to come and restore order. In this riot no less than 830 houses were burnt and a number of lives were lost. At the Besshi copper-mine, in June, there were serious disturbances and grave fights, involving a direct loss of £200,000. Offices were set on fire, and damage done which it will take a year to repair. In September some thousands of dyeing operatives went on strike. An epidemic of strikes ran through many industries.

The outcome of these upheavals has been that the men have generally obtained large increases of wages, in some cases as much as 45 per cent. The strike movement is not yet over ; it may be said barely to have begun.

This rapid increase in wages is wounding the new Japanese manufacturers in their most vital point. An attempt was made to obtain cheap labour last year by importing a number of Chinese coolies. The Government quickly intervened, and had the coolies expelled, to the accompaniment of considerable indignity and suffering. Japan has no hesitation in protecting herself from cheaper labour, whatever she

may say about America having similar protection for her people.

This labour question raises yet another issue. Japan's success as a manufacturing nation has so far been largely due to the low wages of her toilers. The cotton mills, with an unlimited supply of women workers at fivepence a day, and children at a few pence a week, the factories with skilled workmen earning an average wage of sixty sen (15d.) a day, are able to turn out goods very cheaply. The Japanese working man is, in the opinion of all competent authorities, not nearly so capable a handler of machinery as is the European. Generally speaking, it takes two Japanese to do the work of one European where much machinery is used. Japanese deftness lies largely in handicrafts.

So long as human material was cheap this did not much matter. But now we have labour appreciating all the time, until in some districts known to me two shillings a day has to be paid. Firms that land goods at Japanese ports are already becoming loud in their complaints of the cost of handling freight.

The Japanese manufacturer thus finds his labour bill rising, while his direct taxation is double or treble what it once was. At the same time a new commercial rival is arising. The factory system is being introduced into parts of China, especially around the Yangtze Valley, and the Chinese are beginning to produce, on a considerable scale, certain lines of goods in competition with Japan.

In China labour is still paid a minimum wage and taxation is low. The Chinese worker is at

least equal to the Japanese. What China has lacked up to now has been Government direction, and skilled Government aid in finance, in securing cheap freight, and in finding and keeping customers. Dear labour and high taxation threaten Japan more nearly and more seriously than any Armada from foreign lands.

What are the main causes of these crushing national burdens? They are, without doubt, mainly due to the great amount spent on the army and the navy and on commercial subsidies. A great parade was made in some quarters, at the beginning of 1908, because of an announcement that the Japanese Government had resolved to modify its military and naval expenditure for the coming year. The commentators were probably not aware that this so-called modification was merely a slight clipping off in a great scheme of expansion. Japan still spends twice as much on her fighting forces as five years ago. The national policy since the conclusion of the treaty of Portsmouth has been, as it was previously, strongly in favour of the rapid and considerable enlargement of both the fleet and the army. There is, it is true, a party, both in the Cabinet and out of it, that would keep defence expenditure within bounds. But this party is at present only able to exercise a slightly moderating influence.

A comparison of the fighting strength of the nation immediately before the war and to-day will best show this. At the end of 1903 Japan had six good battleships. To-day she has thirteen, and three more are being built. Of these thirteen ships, two—the *Satsuma* and the *Aki*—are of the *Dreadnought*

class, and exceed the *Dreadnought* in displacement. The three now building will far surpass in tonnage, horse-power, and armaments our own coming monsters, the *Bellerophon*, *Temeraire*, and the *Superb*. Here is an exact comparison :—

	Displacement.	I.H.P.	Armaments.
<i>Bellerophon</i> ... } <i>Temeraire</i> ... } <i>Superb</i>	18,600	23,500	{ 10 12", and 27 small Q.F.
	Displacement.	I.H.P.	Armaments.
Japanese battleships	22,000	26,500	{ 12 12", 10 8", and 12 4'7 Q.F.

Before the war Japan had six efficient armoured cruisers. To-day she has twelve, besides four now being built, of which one is near completion. Some of these new armoured cruisers are battleships in all but name. As against fourteen protected cruisers before the war, there are now eighteen. Her nineteen destroyers have risen to fifty-four, and her forty-five torpedo-boats to eighty-five. In addition, she has accumulated a considerable fleet of submarines. There are seven in commission and six now under construction. It is not too much to say that the Japanese Navy is to-day nearly twice as efficient and powerful as it was three months before the outbreak of the Russian War.

The increase in the army has been also considerable. At the close of the Russian campaign the Minister for War, General Terauchi, wanted to resign, and was only induced to continue in office by a promise that his plans for the expansion of the

army would be considered as favourably as possible. The war party asked that the army should be increased from thirteen to twenty-five divisions. This was afterwards reduced by the Minister to twenty-one divisions. The Finance Department declared that such a programme was impossible, for the country could not bear the burden. As a compromise, it was decided early last year to enlarge the army to seventeen divisions, with two further divisions in Korea and Manchuria. Other increases took place, which still further added to the military strength. Thus the time for infantry training was reduced from three years to two. As need hardly be pointed out, this will give the infantry a reserve, in a few years, 50 per cent. greater than before. A thousand men were added to each division.

The Japanese military authorities also seriously set themselves to eradicate the various weaknesses revealed in their organisation during the Russian War. In England a number of open scandals preceded the very effective changes which have been made in our land forces since the Peace of Vereeniging. Japan managed better. Scandals were suppressed, and all dirty linen was washed in private, but a most careful and relentless inquiry was instituted behind closed doors.

Cavalry had been a conspicuously weak arm of the service during the war. Experts were called in from Austria and other countries, fresh breeding stock was introduced, and the authorities will accomplish the seemingly impossible task of making real horse-masters of some of their countrymen. The

Japanese field artillery was hopelessly out-classed by the Russian. If Japan were fighting to-day much of her field artillery would be found equal to that of any other Power. Vast sums have been spent to create steel foundries in Japan, in order that the country may be able to supply within its own borders the steel used for war material. This policy has since been carried a step further, and late last year the Japanese finally concluded an agreement with Messrs. Armstrong, and Vickers and Maxim by which Armstrong, Vickers and the Japanese are to build, in co-partnership, works in Japan itself. These works will have the benefit of the Armstrong and Vickers secrets and designs, and it is expected that a monster arsenal will be created at the Hokaido, doing for Asia what Krupps, Armstrong, Vickers, and Creusot have accomplished for Europe.

Steps have been taken to increase the *esprit* and the military pride of the soldiery. Soon after the war more ornamental dressings were given to military uniforms, and the Japanese soldier now, in his red and gold-trimmed dress, looks very different from the shapeless and slouching yokel who formerly excited the derision of superficial European onlookers. There is nothing extraordinary in this. Japan is only following the line taken by many great conquering nations before, and those who would follow the reasons for her action need but study Napoleonic history. Her army and navy are at once her strength and danger. Her soldiers, strong, successful, and determined, look with some scorn on the quiet and somewhat sober statesmen who keep them in

check. They are working out, under new conditions, the same conclusions that have always made the Samurai the strength of and potentially the most dangerous class in Japan.

Happily for the world, while the military clans are strong, they are not yet omnipotent. There is a school of statesmen, not perhaps a growing school, that sees the real hope of Japan's future in peaceful expansion. A generation ago, Okubo, leader of those who overthrew the Shogunate, died under the hands of an assassin for loyalty to his principles. Twelve years ago Ito kept his countrymen in check when they were furious to avenge the insults that were put upon them by Russia. The school of Okubo and Ito is not yet dead. Ito, it is true, is laughed at by many of the younger men, who declare that while his ways were good enough for their fathers, they have entered into a wider inheritance, and will prove themselves worthy of it. The future of Japan, the future of the East, and, to some extent, the future of the world, lies in the answer to the question whether the militarists or the party of peaceful expansion gain the upper hand in the immediate future. If the one, then we shall have harsher rule in Korea, steadily increasing aggression in Manchuria, growing interference with China, and, in the end, a Titanic conflict, the end of which none can see. Under the others Japan will enter into an inheritance wider, more glorious and more assured than any Asiatic power has attained for many centuries. Given peace and fair dealing, her commerce cannot fail to expand by leaps and bounds. Once her merchants have learnt

to purge themselves of their inherited trickery, once they have discovered that bogus trade-marks, poor substitutes, and smartness do not build up permanent connections, their future is certain. Japan has it in her yet to be, not the Mistress of the East, reigning, sword in hand, over subject races—for that she can never permanently be—but the bringer of peace to and the teacher of the East. Will she choose the nobler end?

APPENDICES

THE TRIAL OF VISCOUNT MIURA

THE following is the full text of the findings of the Japanese Court of Preliminary Inquiries that tried Viscount Miura and his associates for the murder of the Queen of Korea :—

- “Okamoto Ryunosuke, born the 8th month of the 5th year of Kaei (1852), Adviser to the Korean Departments of War and of the Household, shizoku of Usu, Saiga Mura, Umibe Gun, Wakayama Ken.
- “Miura Goro, Viscount, Sho Sammi, first-class Order, Lieutenant-General (first reserve), born 11th month 3rd year Kokwa (1846), kwazoku of Nakotomisaka Cho, Koishikawa ku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu.
- “Sugimura Fukashi, Sho Rokui, First Secretary of Legation, born 1st month 1st year Kaei (1848), heimin of Suga Cho, Yotsuyaku, Tokyo Shi, Tokyo Fu, and forty-five others.

“Having, in compliance with the request of the Public Procurator, conducted preliminary examinations in the case of murder and sedition brought against the above-mentioned Okamoto Ryunosuke and forty-seven others, and that of wilful homicide brought against the aforementioned Hirayama Iwawo, we find as follows :—

“The accused, Miura Goro, assumed his official duties as His Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Seoul on the 1st September, the 28th year of Meiji (1895). According to his observations, things in Korea were tending in a wrong direction. The Court was daily growing more and more arbitrary, and attempting wanton interference with the conduct of State affairs. Disorder and confusion were in this way introduced into the system of administration that had just been reorganised under the guidance and advice of the Imperial Government. The Court went so far in turning its back on Japan that a project was mooted for

disbanding the Kunrentai troops, drilled by Japanese officers, and punishing their officers. Moreover, a report came to the knowledge of the said Miura that the Court had under contemplation a scheme for usurping all political power by degrading some and killing others of the Cabinet Ministers suspected of devotion to the cause of progress and independence. Under these circumstances, he was greatly perturbed, inasmuch as he thought that the attitude assumed by the Court not only showed remarkable ingratitude towards this country which had spent labour and money for the sake of Korea, but was also calculated to thwart the work of internal reform and jeopardise the independence of the Kingdom. The policy pursued by the Court was consequently considered to be injurious to Korea, as well as prejudicial, in no small degree, to the interests of this country. The accused felt it to be of urgent importance to apply an effective remedy to this state of things, so as on the one hand to secure the independence of the Korean Kingdom, and, on the other, to maintain the prestige of this Empire in that country. While thoughts like these agitated his mind, he was secretly approached by the Tai Won Kun with a request for assistance, the Prince being indignant at the untoward turn that events were taking, and having determined to undertake the reform of the Court and thus discharge his duty of advising the King. The accused then held at the Legation a conference with Sugimura Fukashi and Okamoto Ryunosuke, on the 3rd October last. The decision arrived at on that occasion was that assistance should be rendered to the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace by making use of the Kunrentai, who, being hated by the Court, felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer their support to the enterprise. It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court. They at the same time thought it necessary to provide against the possible danger of the Tai Won Kun's interfering with the conduct of State affairs in the future—an interference that might prove of a more evil character than that which it was now sought to overturn. To this end, a document containing pledges required of the Tai Won Kun on four points was drawn by Sugimura Fukashi. The document was carried to the country residence of the Tai Won Kun at Kong-tok-ri on the 15th of the month by Okamoto Ryunosuke, the latter being on intimate terms with His Highness. After informing the Tai Won Kun that the turn of events demanded His Highness's intervention once more, Okamoto presented the

note to the Prince, saying that it embodied what Minister Miura expected from him. The Tai Won Kun, together with his son and grandson, gladly assented to the conditions proposed and also wrote a letter guaranteeing his good faith. Miura Goro and others decided to carry out the concerted plan by the middle of the month. Fearing lest Okamoto's visit to Kong-tok-ri (the Tai Won Kun's residence) should excite suspicion and lead to the exposure of their plan, it was given out that he had proceeded thither simply for the purpose of taking leave of the Prince before departing from home, and to impart an appearance of probability to this report it was decided that Okamoto should leave Seoul for Ninsen (Inchhon), and he took his departure from the capital on the 6th. On the following day, An Keiju, the Korean Minister of State for War, visited the Japanese Legation by order of the Court. Referring to the projected disbanding of the Kunrentai troops, he asked the Japanese Minister's views on the subject. It was now evident that the moment had arrived, and that no more delay should be made. Miura Goro and Sugimura Fukashi consequently determined to carry out the plot on the night of that very day. On the one hand a telegram was sent to Okamoto requesting him to come back to Seoul at once, and on the other they delivered to Horiguchi Kumaichi a paper containing a detailed programme concerning the entry of the Tai Won Kun into the palace, and caused him to meet Okamoto at Yong-san so that they might proceed to enter the palace. Miura Goro further issued instructions to Umayabara Muhon, Commander of the Japanese Battalion in Seoul, ordering him to facilitate the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace by directing the disposition of the Kunrentai troops, and by calling out the Imperial force for their support. Miura also summoned the accused, Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, and requested them to collect their friends, meeting Okamoto at Yong-san, and act as the Tai Won Kun's bodyguard on the occasion of His Highness's entrance into the palace. Miura told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief in the Kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to dispatch the Queen when they entered the palace. Miura ordered the accused, Ogiwara Hidejiro, to proceed to Yong-san, at the head of the police force under him, and after consultation with Okamoto to take such steps as might be necessary to expedite the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace.

"The accused, Sugimura Fukashi, summoned Suzuki Shigemoto and Asayama Kenzo to the Legation, and after acquainting them with the projected enterprise, directed the former to send the

accused, Suzuki Junken, to Yong-san to act as interpreter, and the latter to carry the news to a Korean named Li Shukwei, who was known to be a warm advocate of the Tai Won Kun's return to the palace. Sugimura further drew up a manifesto explaining the reason of the Tai Won Kun's entry into the palace, and charged Ogiwara Hidejiro to deliver it to Horiguchi Kumaichi.

"The accused, Horiguchi Kumaichi, at once departed for Yong-san on horseback. Ogiwara Hidejiro issued orders to the policemen that were off duty to put on civilian dress, provide themselves with swords and proceed to Yong-san. Ogiwara himself also went to the same place.

"Thither also repaired by his order the accused, Watanabe Takajiro, Nariai Kishiro, Oda Yoshimitsu, Kiwaki Sukunorin, and Sakai Masataro.

"The accused, Yokowo Yutaro, joined the party at Yong-san. Asayama Kenzo saw Li Shukwei, and informed him of the projected enterprise against the palace that night. Having ascertained that Li had then collected a few other Koreans and proceeded towards Kong-tok-ri, Asayama at once left for Yong-san. Sukuji Shigemoto went to Yong-san in company with Sukuji Junken. The accused, Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigearika, at the instigation of Miura, decided to murder the Queen, and took steps for collecting accomplices. The accused, Hirayama Iwabiko, Sassa Masayuki, Matsumura Tatsuki, Sasaki Tadasu, Ushijima Hidewo, Kobayakawa Hidewo, Miyazumi Yuki, Sato Keita, Sawamura Masao, Katano Takewo, Fuji Masashira, Hirata Shizen, Kikuchi Kenjo, Yoshida Tomokichi, Nakamura Takewo, Namba Harukichi, Terasaki Taikichi, Iyuri Kakichi, Tanaka Kendo, Kumabe Yonekichi, Tsukinari Taru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatetsu, and Shibaya Kotoji, responded to the call of Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira by Miura's order to act as bodyguard to the Tai Won Kun on the occasion of his entry to the palace. Hirayama Iwahiko and more than ten others were directed by Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira, and others to do away with the Queen, and they resolved to follow the advice. The others, who were not admitted into this secret but who joined the party from mere curiosity, also carried weapons. With the exception of Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinari Taru, and two others, all the accused mentioned above went to Yong-san in company with Adachi Kenzo.

"The accused, Okamoto Ryunosuke, on receipt of a telegram stating that time was urgent, at once left Ninsen for Seoul. Being informed on his way, about midnight, that Horiguchi Kumaichi was

waiting for him at Mapho, he proceeded thither and met the persons assembled there. There he received from Horiguchi Kumaichi a letter from Miura Goro, the draft manifesto already alluded to, and other documents. After he had consulted with two or three others about the method of effecting an entry into the palace, the whole party started for Kong-tok-ri, with Okamoto as their leader. At about 3 a.m. on the 8th they left Kong-tok-ri, escorting the Tai Won Kun's palanquin, together with Li Shukwei and other Koreans. When on the point of departure, Okamoto assembled the whole party outside the front gate of the Prince's residence, declaring that on entering the palace the 'fox' should be dealt with according as exigency might require, the obvious purport of this declaration being to instigate his followers to murder Her Majesty the Queen. As the result of this declaration Sakai Masataro and a few others, who had not yet been initiated into the secret, resolved to act in accordance with the suggestion. Then slowly proceeding towards Seoul, the party met the Kunrentai troops outside the west gate of the capital, where they waited some time for the arrival of the Japanese troops.

"With the Kunrentai as vanguard, the party then proceeded towards the palace at a more rapid rate. On the way they were joined by Kunitomo Shigeakira, Tsukinari Taru, Yamada Ressei, Sase Kumatsetsu, and Shibuya Katoji. The accused, Hasumoto, Yasumaru, and Oura Shigehiko, also joined the party, having been requested by Umagabara Muhon to accompany as interpreters the military officers charged with the supervision of the Kunrentai troops. About dawn the whole party entered the palace through the Kwang-hwa Gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers.

"Notwithstanding these facts, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them. Neither is there sufficient evidence to establish the charge that Hirayama Iwahiko killed Li Koshoku, the Korean Minister of the Household, in front of the Kon-Chong palace.

"As to the accused, Shiba Shiro, Osaki Masakichi, Yoshida Hanji, Mayeda Shunzo, Hirayama Katsukuma, and Hiraishi Yoshitaro, there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were in any way connected with the affair.

"For these reasons the accused, each and all, are hereby discharged in accordance with the provisions of article 165 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The accused, Miura Goro, Sugimura Fukashi, Okamoto Ryunosuke, Adachi Kenzo, Kunitomo Shigeakira, Terasaki Taikichi, Hirayama Iwabiko, Nakamura Takewo, Fuji Masashira, Iyuri Kakichi, Kiwaki Sukenori, and Sokoi Masutarō, are hereby released

from confinement. The documents and other articles seized in connection with this case are restored to their respective owners.

“ Given at the Hiroshima Local Court by

“ YOSHIDA YOSHIHIDE,

“ Judge of Preliminary Enquiry ;

“ TAMURA YOSHIHARU,

“ Clerk of the Court.

“ Dated, 20th day of the 1st month of the 29th year of Meiji.

“ This copy has been taken from the original text.—Clerk of the Local Court of Hiroshima.”

THE JAPANESE-KOREAN TREATY, FEBRUARY 26, 1876

The Governments of Japan and Chosen, being desirous to resume the amicable relations that of yore existed between them, and to promote the friendly feelings of both nations to a still firmer basis, have for this purpose appointed their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say: The Government of Japan, Kuroda Kiyotaka, High Commissioner Extraordinary to Chosen, Lieutenant-General and Member of the Privy Council, Minister of the Colonisation Department, and Inouye Kaoru, Associate High Commissioner Extraordinary to Chosen, Member of the Genrô In; and the Government of Chosen, Shin Ken, Han-Choo-Su-Fu, and In-Jishô, Fu-So-Fu, Fuku-sô-Kwan, who, according to the powers received from their respective Governments, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ART. I.—Chosen being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.

In order to prove the sincerity of the friendship existing between the two nations, their intercourse shall henceforward be carried on in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or manifestations of suspicion.

In the first instance, all rules and precedents that are apt to obstruct friendly intercourse shall be totally abrogated, and, in their stead, rules, liberal and in general usage fit to secure a firm and perpetual peace, shall be established.

ART. II.—The Government of Japan, at any time within fifteen months from the date of signature of this Treaty, shall have the right to send an Envoy to the Capital of Chosen, where he shall be admitted to confer with the Rei-sohan-sho on matters of a diplomatic nature. He may either reside at the capital or return to his country on the completion of his mission.

The Government of Chosen in like manner shall have the right to send an Envoy to Tokyo, Japan, where he shall be admitted to confer with the Minister for Foreign Affairs on matters of a diplomatic nature.

He may either reside at Tokyo or return home on the completion of his mission.

ART. III.—All official communications addressed by the Government of Japan to that of Chosen shall be written in the Japanese language, and for a period of ten years from the present date they shall be accompanied by a Chinese translation. The Government of Chosen will use the Chinese language.

ART. IV.—Sorio in Fusan, Chosen, where an official establishment of Japan is situated, is a place originally opened for commercial intercourse with Japan, and trade shall henceforward be carried on at that place in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, whereby are abolished all former usages, such as the practice of Sai-ken-sen (junk annually sent to Chosen by the late Prince of Tsushima to exchange a certain quantity of articles between each other).

In addition to the above place, the Government of Chosen agrees to open two ports, as mentioned in Article V. of this Treaty, for commercial intercourse with Japanese subjects.

In the foregoing places Japanese subjects shall be free to lease land and to erect buildings thereon, and to rent buildings the property of subjects of Chosen.

ART. V.—On the coast of five provinces, viz. : Keikin, Chiusei, Jenra, Kensho, and Kankio, two ports, suitable for commercial purposes, shall be selected, and the time for opening these two ports shall be in the twentieth month from the second month of the ninth year of Meiji, corresponding with the date of Chosen, the first moon of the year Hei-shi.

ART. VI.—Whenever Japanese vessels, either by stress of weather or by want of fuel and provisions, cannot reach one or the other of the open ports in Chosen, they may enter any ports or harbour either to take refuge therein, or to get supplies of wood, coal, and other necessaries, or to make repairs; the expenses incurred thereby are to be defrayed by the ship's master. In such events both the officers and the people of the locality shall display their sympathy by rendering full assistance, and their liberality in supplying the necessaries required.

If any vessel of either country be at any time wrecked or stranded on the coasts of Japan or of Chosen, the people of the vicinity shall immediately use every exertion to rescue her crew, and shall inform the local authorities of the disaster, who will either send the wrecked persons to their native country or hand them over to the officer of their country residing at the nearest port.

ART. VII.—The coasts of Chosen, having hitherto been left un-surveyed, are very dangerous for vessels approaching them, and in order to prepare charts showing the positions of islands, rocks, and reefs, as

well as the depth of water whereby all navigators may be enabled to pass between the two countries, any Japanese mariners may freely survey said coasts.

ART. VIII.—There shall be appointed by the Government of Japan an officer to reside at the open ports in Chosen for the protection of Japanese merchants resorting there, providing such arrangement be deemed necessary. Should any question interesting both nations arise, the said officer shall confer with the local authorities of Chosen and settle it.

ART. IX.—Friendly relations having been established between the two contracting parties, their respective subjects may freely carry on their business without any interference from the officers of either Government, and neither limitation nor prohibition shall be made on trade.

In case any fraud be committed, or payment of debt be refused by any merchant of either country, the officers of either one or of the other Government shall do their utmost to bring the delinquent to justice and to enforce recovery of the debt.

Neither the Japanese nor the Chosen Government shall be held responsible for the payment of such debt.

ART. X.—Should a Japanese subject residing at either of the open ports of Chosen commit any offence against a subject of Chosen, he shall be tried by the Japanese authorities. Should a subject of Chosen commit any offence against a Japanese subject, he shall be tried by the authorities of Chosen. The offenders shall be punished according to the laws of their respective countries. Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

ART. XI.—Friendly relations having been established between the two contracting parties, it is necessary to prescribe trade relations for the benefit of the merchants of the respective countries.

Such trade regulations, together with detailed provisions to be added to the Articles of the present Treaty, to develop its meaning and facilitate its observance, shall be agreed upon at the capital of Chosen or at Kokwa Fu in the country, within six months from the present date, by Special Commissioners appointed by the two countries.

ART. XII.—The foregoing eleven Articles are binding from the date of the signing thereof, and shall be observed by the two contracting parties, faithfully and invariably, whereby perpetual friendship shall be secured to the two countries.

The present Treaty is executed in duplicate, and copies will be exchanged between the two contracting parties.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries of Japan and Chosen, have affixed our seals hereunto, this twenty-sixth day of the

second month of the ninth year of Meiji, and the two thousand five hundred and thirty-sixth since the accession of Jimmu Tenno ; and, in the era of Chosen, the second day of the second moon of the year Heishi, and of the founding of Chosen the four hundred and eighty-fifth.

(Signed) KURODA KIYOTAKA.
INOUE KAORU.
SHIN KEN.
IN JI-SHO.

SUPPLEMENTARY TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA

Whereas, on the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the ninth year Meiji, corresponding with the Korean date of the second day of the second month of the year Heishi, a Treaty of Amity and Friendship was signed and concluded between Kuroda Kiyotaka, High Commissioner Extraordinary, Lieutenant-General of H.I.J.M. Army, Member of the Privy Council, and Minister of the Colonisation Department, and Inouye Kaoru, Associate High Commissioner Extraordinary and Member of the Genrô-In, both of whom had been directed to proceed to the city of Kokwa in Korea by the Government of Japan ; and Shin Ken, Dai Kwan, Han-Choo-Su-Fu, and Injishô, Fu-So-Fu Fuku-so-Kwan, both of whom had been duly commissioned for that purpose by the Government of Korea :—

Now therefore, in pursuance of Article XI. of the above Treaty, Miyamoto Okadzu, Commissioner despatched to the capital of Korea, Daijô of the Foreign Department, and duly empowered thereto by the Government of Japan, and Chio Inki, Kôshoo Kwan, Gisheifudôshô, duly empowered thereto by the Government of Korea, have negotiated and concluded the following articles :—

ART. I.—Agents of the Japanese Government stationed at any of the open ports shall hereafter, whenever a Japanese vessel has been stranded on the Korean coast, and has need of their presence at the spot, have the right to proceed there on their informing the local authorities of the facts.

ART. II.—Envoys or Agents of the Japanese Government shall hereafter be at full liberty to despatch letters or other communications to any place or places in Korea, either by post at their own expense, or by hiring inhabitants of the locality wherein they reside as special couriers.

ART. III.—Japanese subjects may, at the ports of Korea open to them, lease land for the purpose of erecting residences thereon, the rent to be fixed by mutual agreement between the lessee and the owner.

Any lands belonging to the Korean Government may be rented by a

Japanese on his paying the same rent thereon as a Korean subject would pay to his Government.

It is agreed that the Shumon (watch-gate) and the Shotsumon (barrier) erected by the Korean Government near the Kokwa (Japanese official establishment) in Sorioko, Fusan, shall be entirely removed, and that a new boundary line shall be established according to the limits hereinafter provided. In the other two open ports the same steps shall be taken.

ART. IV.—The limits within which Japanese subjects may travel from the port of Fusan shall be comprised within a radius of ten ri, Korean measurement, the landing-place in that port being taken as a centre.

Japanese subjects shall be free to go where they please within the above limits, and shall be therein at full liberty either to buy articles of local production or to sell articles of Japanese production.

The town of Torai lies outside of the above limits, but Japanese subjects shall have the same privileges as in those places within them.

ART. V.—Japanese subjects shall at each of the open ports of Korea be at liberty to employ Korean subjects.

Korean subjects, on obtaining permission from their Government, may visit the Japanese Empire.

ART. VI.—In the case of the death of any Japanese subject residing at the open ports of Korea, a suitable spot of ground shall be selected wherein to inter his remains.

As to the localities to be selected for cemeteries in the two open ports other than the port of Fusan, in determining them regard shall be had as to the distance there is to the cemetery already established at Fusan.

ART. VII.—Japanese subjects shall be at liberty to traffic in any article owned by Korean subjects, paying therefor in Japanese coin. Korean subjects, for purposes of trade, may freely circulate among themselves at the open ports of Korea such Japanese coin as they may have possession of in business transactions.

Japanese subjects shall be at liberty to use in trade or to carry away with them the copper coin of Korea.

In case any subject of either of the two countries counterfeit the coin of either of them, he shall be punished according to the laws of his own country.

ART. VIII.—Korean subjects shall have the full fruition of all and every article which they have become possessed of either by purchase or gift from Japanese subjects.

ART. IX.—In case a boat despatched by a Japanese surveying vessel to take soundings along the Korean coasts, as provided for in Article VII.

of the Treaty of Amity and Friendship, should be prevented from returning to the vessel, on account either of bad weather or the ebb tide, the headman of the locality shall accommodate the boat party in a suitable house in the neighbourhood. Articles required by them for their comfort shall be furnished to them by the local authorities, and the outlay thus incurred shall afterwards be refunded to the latter.

ART. X.—Although no relations as yet exist between Korea and foreign countries, yet Japan has for many years back maintained friendly relations with them; it is therefore natural that in case a vessel of any of the countries of which Japan thus cultivates the friendship should be stranded by stress of weather or otherwise on the coasts of Korea, those on board shall be treated with kindness by Korean subjects, and should such persons ask to be sent back to their homes they shall be delivered over by the Korean Government to an Agent of the Japanese Government residing at one of the open ports of Korea, requesting him to send them back to their native countries, which request the Agent shall never fail to comply with.

ART. XI.—The foregoing ten Articles, together with the Regulations for Trade annexed hereto, shall be of equal effect with the Treaty of Amity and Friendship, and therefore shall be faithfully observed by the Governments of the two countries. Should it, however, be found that any of the above Articles actually cause embarrassment to the commercial intercourse of the two nations, and that it is necessary to modify them, then either Government, submitting its proposition to the other, shall negotiate the modification of such Articles on giving one year's previous notice of their intention.

Signed and sealed this twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the ninth year Meiji, and two thousand five hundred and thirty-sixth since the accession of H.M. Jimmu Tenno; and of the Korean era, the sixth day of the seventh month of the year Heishi, and the founding of Korea the four hundred and eighty-fifth.

(Signed) MIYAMOTO OKADZU,
*Commissioner and Dajio of the
Foreign Department.*

CHO INKI,
Kòsho Kwan, Gisheifudòshò.

THE AMERICAN-KOREAN TREATY

Signed at Gensan, May 22, 1882.

[*Ratifications exchanged at Hanyang, May 19, 1883.*]

ART. I.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosen and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments. If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.

ART. II.—After the conclusion of this Treaty of amity and commerce the high contracting Powers may each appoint diplomatic representatives to reside at the Court of the other, and may each appoint Consular representatives at the ports of the other which are open to foreign commerce, at their own convenience.

The officials shall have relations with the corresponding local authorities of equal rank upon a basis of mutual equality. The Diplomatic and Consular representatives of the two Governments shall receive mutually all the privileges, rights, and immunities, without discrimination, which are accorded to the same classes of representatives from the most favoured nations.

Consuls shall exercise their functions only on receipt of an exequatur from the Government to which they are accredited. Consular authorities shall be *bonâ-fide* officials. No merchants shall be permitted to exercise the duties of the office, nor shall Consular officers be allowed to engage in trade.

At ports to which no Consular representatives have been appointed the Consuls of other Powers may be invited to act, provided that no merchant shall be allowed to assume Consular functions, or the provisions of this Treaty may be, in such case, enforced by the local authorities.

If Consular representatives of the United States in Chosen conduct their business in an improper manner their exequaturs may be re-

voked, subject to the approval previously obtained of the Diplomatic representative of the United States.

ART. III.—Whenever United States vessels, either because of weather or by want of fuel or provisions, cannot reach the nearest open port in Chosen, they may enter any port or harbour either to take refuge therein or to get wood, coal, and other necessaries or to make repairs; the expenses incurred thereby being defrayed by the ship's master. In such event the officers and people of the locality shall display their sympathy by rendering full assistance, and their liberality by furnishing the necessities required.

If a United States vessel carries on a clandestine trade at a port not open to foreign commerce, such vessel with her cargo shall be seized and confiscated.

If a United States vessel be wrecked on the coast of Chosen the coast authorities, on being informed of the occurrence, shall immediately render assistance to the crew, provide for their present necessities, and take the measures necessary for the salvage of the ship and the preservation of the cargo. They shall also bring the matter to the knowledge of the nearest Consular representative of the United States, in order that steps may be taken to send the crew home and save the ship and cargo. The necessary expenses shall be defrayed either by the ship's master or by the United States.

ART. IV.—All citizens of the United States of America in Chosen, peaceably attending to their own affairs, shall receive and enjoy for themselves and everybody appertaining to them the protection of the local authorities of the Government of Chosen, who shall defend them from all insult and injury of any sort. If their dwellings or property be threatened or attacked by mobs, incendiaries, or other violent or lawless persons, the local officers, on requisition of the Consul, shall immediately dispatch a military force to disperse the rioters, apprehend the guilty individuals, and punish them with the utmost rigour of the law.

Subjects of Chosen guilty of any criminal act towards citizens of the United States shall be punished by the authorities of Chosen according to the laws of Chosen; and citizens of the United States, either on shore or in any merchant vessel, who may insult, trouble, or wound the persons or injure the property of the people of Chosen shall be arrested and punished only by the Consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorised, according to the laws of the United States.

When controversies arise in the kingdom of Chosen between citizens of the United States and subjects of His Majesty, which need to be examined and decided by the public officers of the two nations, it is

agreed between the two Governments of the United States and Chosen that such case shall be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant according to the law of that nation. The properly authorised official of the plaintiff's nationality shall be freely permitted to attend the trial and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be granted all proper facilities for watching the proceedings in the interests of justice. If he so desire he shall have the right to be present, to examine and cross-examine witnesses. If he is dissatisfied with the proceedings he shall be permitted to protest against them in detail.

It is, however, mutually agreed and understood between the high contracting Powers that whenever the King of Chosen shall have so far modified and reformed the statutes and the judicial procedure of his kingdom that, in the judgment of the United States, they conform to the laws and course of justice in the United States, the right of extritorial jurisdiction over United States citizens in Chosen shall be abandoned, and thereafter United States citizens, when within the limits of the kingdom of Chosen, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the native authorities.

ART. V.—Merchants and merchant vessels of Chosen visiting the United States for the purpose of traffic shall pay duties and tonnage dues and fees according to the Customs regulations of the United States, but no higher or other rates of duties and tonnage dues shall be exacted of them than are levied upon citizens of the United States or upon citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation.

Merchants and merchant vessels of the United States visiting Chosen for purposes of traffic shall pay duties upon all merchandise imported and exported. The authority to levy duties is of right vested in the Government of Chosen. The tariff of duties upon exports and imports, together with the Customs regulations for the prevention of smuggling and other irregularities, will be fixed by the authorities of Chosen and communicated to the proper officials of the United States, to be by the latter notified to their citizens and duly observed.

It is, however, agreed in the first instance, as a general measure, that the tariff upon such imports as are articles of daily use shall not exceed an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent.; that the tariff upon such imports as are luxuries—as, for instance, foreign wines, foreign tobacco, clocks and watches—shall not exceed an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent., and that native produce exported shall pay a duty not to exceed 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. And it is further agreed that the duty upon foreign imports shall be paid once for all at the port of entry, and that no other dues, duties, fees, taxes, or charges of any sort shall be levied upon such imports either in the interior of Chosen or at the ports.

United States merchant vessels entering the ports of Chosen shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of five mace per ton, payable once in three months on each vessel, according to the Chinese calendar.

ART. VI.—Subjects of Chosen who may visit the United States shall be permitted to reside and to rent premises, purchase land, or to construct residences or warehouses in all parts of the country. They shall be freely permitted to pursue their various callings and avocation, and to traffic in all merchandise, raw and manufactured, that is not declared contraband by law. Citizens of the United States who may resort to the ports of Chosen which are open to foreign commerce, shall be permitted to reside at such open ports within the limits of the concession and to lease buildings or land, or to construct residences or warehouses therein. They shall be freely permitted to pursue their various callings and avocations within the limits of the ports and to traffic in all merchandise, raw and manufactured, that is not declared contraband by law.

No coercion or intimidation in the acquisition of land or buildings shall be permitted, and the land rent as fixed by the authorities of Chosen shall be paid. And it is expressly agreed that land so acquired in the open ports of Chosen still remains an integral part of the kingdom, and that all rights of jurisdiction over persons and property within such areas remain vested in the authorities of Chosen, except in so far as such rights have been expressly relinquished by this Treaty.

American citizens are not permitted either to transport foreign imports to the interior for sale, or to proceed thither to purchase native produce, nor are they permitted to transport native produce from one open port to another open port.

Violation of this rule will subject such merchandise to confiscation, and the merchants offending will be handed over to the Consular authorities to be dealt with.

ART. VII.—The Governments of the United States and of Chosen mutually agree and undertake that subjects of Chosen shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States, and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of Chosen, to transport it from one open port to another open port, or traffic in it in Chosen. This absolute prohibition which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power, to foreign vessels employed by them, and to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either Power and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of the United States and of Chosen, and offenders against it shall be severely punished.

ART. VII.—Whenever the Government of Chosen shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the limits of the kingdom, His Majesty may by decree temporarily prohibit the export of all breadstuffs, and such decree shall be binding upon all citizens of the United States in Chosen upon due notice having been given them by the authorities of Chosen through the proper officers of the United States; but it is to be understood that the exportation of rice and breadstuffs of every description is prohibited from the open port of Yin-Chuen.

Chosen having of old prohibited the exportation of red ginseng, if citizens of the United States clandestinely purchase it for export it shall be confiscated and the offenders punished.

ART. IX.—Purchase of cannon, small arms, swords, gunpowder, shot, and all munitions of war is permitted only to officials of the Government of Chosen, and they may be imported by citizens of the United States only under written permit from the authorities of Chosen. If these articles are clandestinely imported they shall be confiscated, and the offending party shall be punished.

ART. X.—The officers and people of either nation residing in the other shall have the right to employ natives for all kinds of lawful work.

Should, however, subjects of Chosen, guilty of violation of the laws of the kingdom, or against whom any action has been brought, conceal themselves in the residences or warehouses of United States citizens or on board United States merchant vessels the Consular authorities of the United States, on being notified of the fact by the local authorities, will either permit the latter to despatch constables to make the arrests, or the persons will be arrested by the Consular authorities and handed over to the local constables.

Officials or citizens of the United States shall not harbour such persons.

ART. XI.—Students of either nationality who may proceed to the country of the other in order to study the language, literature, law, or arts, shall be given all possible protection and assistance, in evidence of cordial goodwill.

ART. XII.—This being the first Treaty negotiated by Chosen, and hence being general and incomplete in its provision, shall, in the first instance, be put into operation in all things stipulated therein. As to stipulations not contained herein, after an interval of five years, when the officers and people of the two Powers shall have become more familiar with each other's language, a further negotiation of commercial provisions and regulations in detail, in conformity with international law and without unequal discriminations on either part, shall be had.

ART. XIII.—This Treaty and future official correspondence between the two contracting Governments shall be made on the part of Chosen in the Chinese language.

The United States shall either use the Chinese language, or if English be used it shall be accompanied with a Chinese version in order to avoid misunderstanding.

ART. XIV.—The high contracting Powers hereby agree that should at any time the King of Chosen grant to any nation or to the merchants or citizens of any nation, any right, privilege, or favour connected either with navigation, commerce, political or other intercourse, which is not conferred by this Treaty, such right, privilege, and favour shall freely enure to the benefit of the United States, its public officers, merchants, and citizens; provided always, that whenever such right, privilege, or favour is accompanied by any condition or equivalent concession granted by the other nation interested, the United States, its officers and people, shall only be entitled to the benefit of such right, privilege, or favour upon complying with the conditions or concessions connected therewith.

In faith whereof the respective Commissioners Plenipotentiary have signed and sealed the foregoing at Yin-Chuen, in English and Chinese, being three originals of each text of even tenor and date, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged at Yin-Chuen within one year from the date of its execution, and immediately hereafter this Treaty shall be, in all its provisions, publicly proclaimed and made known by both Governments in their respective countries in order that it may be obeyed by their citizens and subjects respectively.

R. W. SHUFELDT,

*Commodore United States Navy, Envoy of the
United States to Chosen.*

SHIN CHEN,

CHIN HONG CHI,

Members of the Royal Cabinet of Chosen.

BRITISH-KOREAN TREATY

Signed at Hanyang, November 26, 1883.

[*Ratifications exchanged at Hanyang, April 28, 1884.*]

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the King of Korea, being sincerely desirous of establishing permanent relations of friendship and commerce between their respective dominions, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, Sir Harry Smith Parkes, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of China ;

His Majesty the King of Korea, Min Yöng-Mok, President of His Majesty's Foreign Office, a Dignitary of the First Rank, Senior Vice-President of the Council of State, Member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and Junior Guardian of the Crown Prince ;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ART. I.

1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and Ireland, Empress of India, her heirs and successors, and His Majesty the King of Korea, his heirs and successors, and between their respective dominions and subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

2. In case of differences arising between one of the High Contracting Parties and a third Power, the other High Contracting Party, if

requested to do so, shall exert its good offices to bring about an amicable arrangement.

ART. II.

1. The High Contracting Parties may each appoint a Diplomatic Representative to reside permanently or temporarily at the capital of the other, and may appoint a Consul-General, Consuls, or Vice-Consuls, to reside at any or all of the ports or places of the other which are open to foreign commerce. The Diplomatic Representatives and Consular functionaries of both countries shall freely enjoy the same facilities for communication, personally or in writing, with the authorities of the country where they respectively reside, together with all other privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by Diplomatic or Consular functionaries in other countries.

2. The Diplomatic Representative and the Consular functionaries of each Power and the members of their official establishments shall have the right to travel freely in any part of the dominions of the other, and the Korean authorities shall furnish passports to such British officers travelling in Korea, and shall provide such escort for their protection as may be necessary.

3. The Consular officers of both countries shall exercise their functions on receipt of due authorisation from the Sovereign or Government of the country in which they respectively reside, and shall not be permitted to engage in trade.

ART. III.

1. Jurisdiction over the persons and property of British subjects in Korea shall be vested exclusively in the duly authorised British judicial authorities, who shall hear and determine all cases brought against British subjects by any British or other foreign subject or citizen without the intervention of the Korean authorities.

2. If the Korean authorities or a Korean subject make any charge or complaint against a British subject in Korea, the case shall be heard and decided by the British judicial authorities.

3. If the British authorities or a British subject make any charge or complaint against a Korean subject in Korea, the case shall be heard and decided by the Korean authorities.

4. A British subject who commits any offence in Korea shall be tried and punished by the British judicial authorities according to the laws of Great Britain.

5. A Korean subject who commits in Korea any offence against a British subject shall be tried and punished by the Korean authorities according to the laws of Korea.

6. Any complaint against a British subject involving a penalty or confiscation by reason of any breach either of this Treaty or of any regulation annexed thereto, or of any regulation that may hereafter be made in virtue of its provisions, shall be brought before the British judicial authorities for decision, and any penalty imposed, and all property confiscated in such cases shall belong to the Korean Government.

7. British goods, when seized by the Korean authorities at an open port, shall be put under the seals of the Korean and the British Consular authorities, and shall be detained by the former until the British judicial authorities shall have given their decision. If this decision is in favour of the owner of the goods, they shall be immediately placed at the Consul's disposal. But the owner shall be allowed to receive them at once on depositing their value with the Korean authorities pending the decision of the British judicial authorities.

8. In all cases, whether civil or criminal, tried either in Korean or British Courts in Korea, a properly authorised official of the nationality of the plaintiff or prosecutor shall be allowed to attend the hearing, and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be allowed, whenever he thinks it necessary, to call, examine, and cross-examine witnesses, and to protest against the proceedings or decision.

9. If a Korean subject who is charged with an offence against the laws of his country takes refuge on premises occupied by a British subject, or on board a British merchant-vessel, the British Consular authorities, on receiving an application from the Korean authorities, shall take steps to have such person arrested and handed over to the latter for trial. But, without the consent of the proper British Consular authority, no Korean officer shall enter the premises of any British subject without his consent, or go on board any British ship without the consent of the officer in charge.

10. On the demand of any competent British Consular authority, the Korean authorities shall arrest and deliver to the former any British subject charged with a criminal offence, and any deserter from a British ship of war or merchant-vessel.

ART. IV.

1. The ports of Chemulpho (Jeuchuan), Wönsan (Gensan), and Pusan (Fusan), or, if the latter port should not be approved, then such other port as may be selected in its neighbourhood, together with the city of Hanyang and of the town of Yanghwa Chin, or such other place in

that neighbourhood, as may be deemed desirable, shall, from the day on which this Treaty comes into operation, be opened to British commerce.

2. At the above-named places British subjects shall have the right to rent or to purchase land or houses, and to erect dwellings, warehouses, and factories. They shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion. All arrangements for the selection, determination of the limits, and laying out of the sites of the foreign Settlements, and for the sale of land at the various ports and places in Korea open to foreign trade, shall be made by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the competent foreign authorities.

3. These sites shall be purchased from the owners and prepared for occupation by the Korean Government, and the expense thus incurred shall be a first charge on the proceeds of the sale of the land. The yearly rental agreed upon by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the foreign authorities shall be paid to the former, who shall retain a fixed amount thereof as a fair equivalent for the land tax, and the remainder, together with any balance left from the proceeds of land sales, shall belong to a municipal fund to be administered by a Council, the constitution of which shall be determined hereafter by the Korean authorities in conjunction with the competent foreign authorities.

4. British subjects may rent or purchase land or houses beyond the limits of the foreign settlements, and within a distance of 10 Korean li from the same. But all land so occupied shall be subject to such conditions as to the observance of Korean local regulations and payment of land tax as the Korean authorities may see fit to impose.

5. The Korean authorities will set apart, free of cost, at each of the places open to trade, a suitable piece of ground as a foreign cemetery, upon which no rent, land tax, or other charges shall be payable, and the management of which shall be left to the Municipal Council above mentioned.

6. British subjects shall be allowed to go where they please without passports within a distance of 100 Korean li from any of the ports and places open to trade, or within such limits as may be agreed upon between the competent authorities of both countries. British subjects are also authorised to travel in Korea for pleasure or for purposes of trade, to transport and sell goods of all kinds, except books and other printed matter disapproved of by the Korean Government, and to purchase native produce in all parts of the country under passports which will be issued by their Consuls and countersigned or sealed by the Korean local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the districts passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and he

shall be at liberty to procure such means of transport as he may require. Any British subject travelling beyond the limits above named without a passport, or committing when in the interior any offence, shall be arrested and handed over to the nearest British Consul for punishment. Travelling without a passport beyond the said limits will render the offender liable to a fine not exceeding 100 Mexican dollars, with or without imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.

7. British subjects in Korea shall be amenable to such municipal, police, and other regulations for the maintenance of peace, order, and good government as may be agreed upon by the competent authorities of the two countries.

ART. V.

1. At each of the ports or places open to foreign trade, British subjects shall be at full liberty to import from any foreign port, or from any Korean open port, to sell to or to buy from any Korean subjects or others, and to export to any foreign or Korean open port, all kinds of merchandise not prohibited by this Treaty, on paying the duties of the Tariff annexed thereto. They may freely transact their business with Korean subjects or others without the intervention of Korean officials or other persons, and they may freely engage in any industrial occupation.

2. The owners or consignees of all goods imported from any foreign port upon which the duty of the aforesaid Tariff shall have been paid shall be entitled, on re-exporting the same to any foreign port at any time within thirteen Korean months from the date of importation, to receive a drawback certificate for the amount of such import duty, provided that the original packages containing such goods remain intact. These drawback certificates shall either be redeemed by the Korean Customs on demand, or they shall be received in payment of duty at any Korean open port.

3. The duty paid on Korean goods, when carried from one Korean open port to another, shall be refunded at the port of shipment on production of a Customs certificate showing that the goods have arrived at the port of destination, or on satisfactory proof being produced of the loss of the goods by shipwreck.

4. All goods imported into Korea by British subjects, and on which the duty of the Tariff annexed to this Treaty shall have been paid, may be conveyed to any Korean open port free of duty, and, when transported into the interior, shall not be subject to any additional tax, excise or transit duty whatsoever in any part of the country. In like manner, full freedom shall be allowed for the transport to the open ports of all Korean commodities intended for exportation, and such

commodities shall not, either at the place of production, or when being conveyed from any part of Korea to any of the open ports, be subject to the payment of any tax, excise or transit duty whatsoever.

5. The Korean Government may charter British merchant-vessels for the conveyance of goods or passengers to unopened ports in Korea, and Korean subjects shall have the same right, subject to the approval of their own authorities.

6. Whenever the Government of Korea shall have reason to apprehend a scarcity of food within the kingdom, His Majesty the King of Korea may, by Decree, temporarily prohibit the export of grain to foreign countries from any or all of the Korean open ports, and such prohibition shall become binding on British subjects in Korea on the expiration of one month from the date on which it shall have been officially communicated by the Korean authorities to the British Consul at the port concerned, but shall not remain longer in force than is absolutely necessary.

7. All British ships shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of 30 cents (Mexican) per register ton. One such payment will entitle a vessel to visit any or all of the open ports in Korea during a period of four months without further charge. All tonnage dues shall be appropriated for the purposes of erecting lighthouses and beacons, and placing buoys on the Korean coast, more especially at the approaches to the open ports, and in deepening or otherwise improving the anchorages. No tonnage dues shall be charged on boats employed at the open ports in landing or shipping cargo.

8. In order to carry into effect and secure the observance of the provisions of this Treaty, it is hereby agreed that the Tariff and Trade Regulations hereto annexed shall come into operation simultaneously with this Treaty. The competent authorities of the two countries may, from time to time, revise the said Regulations with a view to the insertion therein, by mutual consent, of such modifications or additions as experience shall prove to be expedient.

ART. VI.

Any British subject who smuggles, or attempts to smuggle, goods into any Korean port or place not open to foreign trade shall forfeit twice the value of such goods, and the goods shall be confiscated. The Korean local authorities may seize such goods, and may arrest any British subject concerned in such smuggling or attempt to smuggle. They shall immediately forward any person so arrested to the nearest British Consul for trial by the proper British judicial authority, and may detain such goods until the case shall have been finally adjudicated.

ART. VII.

1. If a British ship be wrecked or stranded on the coast of Korea, the local authorities shall immediately take such steps to protect the ship and her cargo from plunder, and all the persons belonging to her from ill-treatment, and to render such other assistance as may be required. They shall at once inform the nearest British Consul of the occurrence, and shall furnish the shipwrecked persons, if necessary, with means of conveyance to the nearest open port.

2. All expenses incurred by the Government of Korea for the rescue, clothing, maintenance, and travelling of shipwrecked British subjects, for the recovery of the bodies of the drowned, for the medical treatment of the sick and injured, and for the burial of the dead, shall be repaid by the British Government to that of Korea.

3. The British Government shall not be responsible for the repayment of the expenses incurred in the recovery or preservation of a wrecked vessel, or the property belonging to her. All such expenses shall be a charge upon the property saved, and shall be paid by the parties interested therein upon receiving delivery of the same.

4. No charge shall be made by the Government of Korea for the expenses of the Government officers, local functionaries, or police who shall proceed to the wreck, for the travelling expenses of officers escorting the shipwrecked men, nor for the expenses of official correspondence. Such expenses shall be borne by the Korean Government.

5. Any British merchant-ship compelled by stress of weather or by want of fuel or provisions to enter an unopened port in Korea shall be allowed to execute repairs, and to obtain necessary supplies. All such expenses shall be defrayed by the master of the vessel.

ART. VIII.

1. The ships of war of each country shall be at liberty to visit all the ports of the other. They shall enjoy every facility for procuring supplies of all kinds, or for making repairs, and shall not be subject to trade or harbour regulations, nor be liable to the payment of duties or port charges of any kind.

2. When British ships of war visit unopened ports in Korea, the officers and men may land, but shall not proceed into the interior unless they are provided with passports.

3. Supplies of all kinds for the use of the British Navy may be landed at the open ports of Korea, and stored in the custody of a British officer, without the payment of any duty. But if any such supplies are sold, the purchaser shall pay the proper duty to the Korean authorities.

4. The Korean Government will afford all the facilities in their power to ships belonging to the British Government which may be engaged in making surveys in Korean waters.

ART. IX.

1. The British authorities and British subjects in Korea shall be allowed to employ Korean subjects as teachers, interpreters, servants, or in any other lawful capacity, without any restriction on the part of the Korean authorities ; and, in like manner, no restrictions shall be placed upon the employment of British subjects by Korean authorities and subjects in any lawful capacity.

2. Subjects of either nationality who may proceed to the country of the other to study its language, literature, laws, arts, or industries, or for the purpose of scientific research, shall be afforded every reasonable facility for doing so.

ART. X.

It is hereby stipulated that the Government, public officers, and subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall, from the day on which this Treaty comes into operation, participate in all privileges, immunities, and advantages, especially in relation to import or export duties on goods and manufactures, which shall then have been granted or may thereafter be granted by His Majesty the King of Korea to the Government, public officers, or subjects of any other Power.

ART. XI.

Ten years from the date on which this Treaty shall come into operation, either of the High Contracting Parties may, on giving one year's previous notice to the other, demand a revision of the Treaty or of the Tariff annexed thereto, with a view to the insertion therein, by mutual consent, of such modifications as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ART. XII.

1. This Treaty is drawn up in the English and Chinese languages, both of which versions have the same meaning, but it is hereby agreed that any difference which may arise as to interpretation shall be determined by reference to the English text.

2. For the present all official communications addressed by the British authorities to those of Korea shall be accompanied by a translation into Chinese.

ART. XIII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and by His Majesty the King of Korea, under their hands and seals; the ratifications shall be exchanged at Hanyang (Seoul) as soon as possible, or at latest within one year from the date of signature, and the Treaty, which shall be published by both Governments, shall come into operation on the day on which the ratifications are exchanged.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries above named have signed the present Treaty, and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done in triplicate at Hanyang, this twenty-sixth day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-three, corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the four hundred and ninety-second year of the Korean era, being the ninth year of the Chinese reign Kuang Hsü.

(L.S.) HARRY S. PARKES.

(L.S.) Signature in Chinese of MIN YÖNG-MOK,
the Korean Plenipotentiary.

REGULATIONS UNDER WHICH BRITISH TRADE IS TO BE CONDUCTED
IN KOREA.

I.—Entrance and Clearance of Vessels.

I. Within forty-eight hours (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) after the arrival of a British ship in a Korean port, the master shall deliver to the Korean Customs authorities the receipt of the British Consul showing that he has deposited the ship's papers at the British Consulate, and he shall then make an entry of his ship by handing in a written paper stating the name of the ship, of the port from which she comes, of her master, the number, and, if required, the names of her passengers, her tonnage, and the number of her crew, which paper shall be certified by the master to be a true statement, and shall be signed by him. He shall, at the same time, deposit a written manifest of his cargo, setting forth the marks and numbers of the packages and their contents as they are described in the bills of lading, with the names of the persons to whom they are consigned. The master shall certify that this description is correct, and shall sign his name to the same. When a vessel has been duly entered, the Customs authorities will issue a permit to open hatches, which shall be exhibited to the Customs officer on board. Breaking bulk without having obtained

such permission will render the master liable to a fine not exceeding 100 Mexican dollars.

2. If any error is discovered in the manifest, it may be corrected within twenty-four hours (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) of its being handed in, without the payment of any fee, but for any alteration or post entry to the manifest made after that time a fee of 5 Mexican dollars shall be paid.

3. Any master who shall neglect to enter his vessel at the Korean Custom-house within the time fixed by this Regulation shall pay a penalty not exceeding 50 Mexican dollars for every twenty-four hours that he shall so neglect to enter his ship.

4. Any British vessel which remains in port for less than forty-eight hours (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) and does not open her hatches, also any vessel driven into port by stress of weather, or only in want of supplies, shall not be required to enter or to pay tonnage dues so long as such vessel does not engage in trade.

5. When the master of a vessel wishes to clear, he shall hand in to the Customs authorities an export manifest containing similar particulars to those given in the import manifest. The Customs authorities will then issue a clearance certificate and return the Consul's receipt for the ship's papers. These documents must be handed into the Consulate before the ship's papers are returned to the master.

6. Should any ship leave the port without clearing outwards in the manner above prescribed, the master shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding 200 Mexican dollars.

7. British steamers may enter and clear on the same day, and they shall not be required to hand in a manifest except for such goods as are to be landed or transhipped at the port of entry.

II.—*Landing and Shipping of Cargo, and Payment of Duties.*

1. The importer of any goods who desires to land them shall make and sign an application to that effect at the Custom-house, stating his own name, the name of the ship in which the goods have been imported, the marks, numbers, and contents of the packages and their values, and declaring that this statement is correct. The Customs authorities may demand the production of the invoice of each consignment of merchandise. If it is not produced, or if its absence is not satisfactorily accounted for, the owner shall be allowed to land his goods on payment of double the Tariff duty, but the surplus duty so levied shall be refunded on the production of the invoice.

2. All goods so entered may be examined by the Customs officers at the places appointed for the purpose. Such examination shall be made

without delay or injury to the merchandise, and the packages shall be at once restored by the Customs authorities to their original condition, in so far as may be practicable.

3. Should the Customs authorities consider the value of any goods paying an *ad valorem* duty as declared by the importer or exporter insufficient, they shall call upon him to pay duty on the value determined by an appraisalment to be made by the Customs appraiser. But should the importer or exporter be dissatisfied with that appraisalment, he shall within twenty-four hours (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) state his reasons for such dissatisfaction to the Commissioner of Customs, and shall appoint an appraiser of his own to make a re-appraisalment. He shall then declare the value of the goods as determined by such re-appraisalment. The Commissioner of Customs will thereupon, at his option, either assess the duty on the value determined by this re-appraisalment, or purchase the goods from the importer or exporter at the price thus determined, with the addition of 5 per cent. In the latter case the purchase-money shall be paid to the importer or exporter within five days from the date on which he has declared the value determined by his own appraiser.

4. Upon all goods damaged on the voyage of importation a fair reduction of duty shall be allowed, proportionate to their deterioration. If any disputes arise as to the amount of such reduction, they shall be settled in the manner pointed out in the preceding clause.

5. All goods intended to be exported shall be entered at the Korean Custom-house before they are shipped. The application to ship shall be made in writing, and shall state the name of the vessel by which the goods are to be exported, the marks and number of the packages, and the quantity, description, and value of the contents. The exporter shall certify in writing that the application gives a true account of all the goods contained therein, and shall sign his name thereto.

6. No goods shall be landed or shipped at other places than those fixed by the Korean Customs authorities, or between the hours of sunset or sunrise, or on Sundays or holidays, without the special permission of the Customs authorities, who will be entitled to reasonable fees for the extra duty thus performed.

7. Claims by importers or exporters for duties paid in excess, or by the Customs authorities for duties which have not been fully paid, shall be entertained only when made within thirty days from the date of payment.

8. No entry will be required in the case of provisions for the use of British ships, their crews and passengers, nor for the baggage of the latter which may be landed or shipped at any time after examination by the Customs officers.

9. Vessels needing repairs may land their cargo for that purpose without the payment of duty. All goods so landed shall remain in charge of the Korean authorities, and all just charges for storage, labour, and supervision shall be paid by the master. But if any portion of such cargo be sold, the duties of the Tariff shall be paid on the portion so disposed of.

10. Any person desiring to tranship cargo shall obtain a permit from the Customs authorities before doing so.

III.—*Protection of the Revenue.*

1. The Customs authorities shall have the right to place Customs officers on board any British merchant-vessel in their ports. All such Customs officers shall have access to all parts of the ship in which cargo is stowed. They shall be treated with civility, and such reasonable accommodation shall be allotted to them as the ship affords.

2. The hatches and all other places of entrance into that part of the ship where cargo is stowed may be secured by the Korean Customs officers between the hours of sunset and sunrise, and on Sundays and holidays, by affixing seals, locks, or other fastenings, and if any person shall, without due permission, wilfully open any entrance that has been so secured, or break any seal, lock, or other fastening that has been affixed by the Korean Customs officers, not only the person so offending, but the master of the ship also, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding 100 Mexican dollars.

3. Any British subject who ships, or attempts to ship, or discharges, or attempts to discharge, goods which have not been duly entered at the Custom-house in the manner above provided, or packages containing goods different from those described in the import or export permit application, or prohibited goods, shall forfeit twice the value of such goods, and the goods shall be confiscated.

4. Any person signing a false declaration or certificate with the intent to defraud the revenue of Korea shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 200 Mexican dollars.

5. Any violation of any provision of these Regulations, to which no penalty is specially attached herein, may be punished by a fine not exceeding 100 Mexican dollars.

Note.—All documents required by these Regulations, and all other communications addressed to the Korean Customs authorities, may be written in the English language.

(L.S.) HARRY S. PARKES.

(L.S.) Signature in Chinese of MIN YÖNG-MOK,

the Korean Plenipotentiary.

The Import Tariff ranged from 5 to 20 per cent. A few articles, such as books, agricultural instruments, types, plants, trees, shrubs, &c., came in free, while adulterated drugs, arms, ammunition, counterfeit coins, and opium were prohibited.

EXPORT TARIFF.

Class I.—Duty free export goods :—

Bullion, being gold and silver refined ; coins, gold and silver all kinds ; plants, trees and shrubs, all kinds ; samples, in reasonable quantity ; travellers' baggage.

Class II.—All other native goods or productions not enumerated in Class. I will pay an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent.

The exportation of red ginseng is prohibited.

Rules.

1. In the case of imported articles the *ad valorem* duties of this Tariff will be calculated on the actual cost of the goods at the place of production or fabrication, with the addition of freight, insurance, &c. In the case of export articles the *ad valorem* duties will be calculated on market values in Korea.

2. Duties may be paid in Mexican dollars or Japanese silver yen.

3. The above Tariff of import and export duties shall be converted as soon as possible, and as far as may be deemed desirable, into specific rates by agreement between the competent authorities of the two countries.

(L.S.) HARRY S. PARKES.

(L.S.) Signature in Chinese of MIN YÖNG-MOK,
Korean Plenipotentiary.

PROTOCOL.

The above-named Plenipotentiaries hereby make and append to this Treaty the following three declarations :—

1. With reference to Article III. of this Treaty, it is hereby declared that the right of extra-territorial jurisdiction over British subjects in Korea granted by this Treaty shall be relinquished when, in the judgment of the British Government, the laws and legal procedure of Korea shall have been so far modified and reformed as to remove the objections which now exist to British subjects being placed under Korean jurisdiction, and Korean Judges shall have attained similar legal qualifications and a similar independent position to those of British Judges.

2. With reference to Article IV. of this Treaty, it is hereby declared that if the Chinese Government shall hereafter surrender the right of opening commercial establishments in the city of Hanyang, which was granted last year to Chinese subjects, the same right shall not be claimed for British subjects, provided that it be not granted by the Korean Government to the subjects of any other Power.

3. It is hereby declared that the provisions of this Treaty shall apply to all British Colonies, unless any exception shall be notified by Her Majesty's Government to that of Korea within one year from the date in which the ratifications of this Treaty shall be exchanged.

And it is hereby further stipulated that this Protocol shall be laid before the High Contracting Parties simultaneously with this Treaty, and that the ratification of this Treaty shall include the confirmation of the above three declarations, for which, therefore, no separate act of ratification will be required.

In faith of which the above-named Plenipotentiaries have this day signed this Protocol, and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done at Hanyang this twenty-sixth day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-three, corresponding to the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the four hundred and ninety-second year of the Korean era, being the ninth year of the Chinese reign Kuang Hsü.

(L.S.) HARRY S. PARKES.

(L.S.) Signature in Chinese of MIN YÖNG-MOK,
Korean Plenipotentiary.

CONVENTION BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN,
APRIL, 1885

Ito, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Great Empire of Japan, Minister of State and the Imperial Household, First Class of the Order of the Rising Sun and Count of the Empire ;

Li, Special Plenipotentiary of the Great Empire of China, Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Superintendent of the North Sea Trade, President of the Board of War, Viceroy of Chih-li and Count Shiriu-ki of the first rank ;

In obedience to the Decrees which each of them respectively is bound to obey, after conference held, have agreed upon a Convention with a view to preserving and promoting friendly relations (between the two great Empires), the Articles of which are set down in order as follow :—

It is hereby agreed that China shall withdraw her troops now stationed in Korea, and that Japan shall withdraw hers stationed therein for the protection of her Legation. The specific term for effecting the same shall be four months commencing from the date of the signing and sealing of this Convention, within which term they shall respectively accomplish the withdrawal of the whole number of each of their troops in order to avoid effectively any complications between the respective countries : the Chinese troops shall embark from Masampo and the Japanese from the port of Ninsen.

The said respective Powers mutually agree to invite the King of Korea to instruct and drill a sufficient armed force, that she may herself assure her public security, and to invite him to engage into his service an officer or officers from amongst those of a third Power, who shall be intrusted with the instruction of the said force. The respective Powers also bind themselves, each to the other, henceforth not to send any of their own officers to Korea for the purpose of giving said instruction.

In case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea which necessitates the respective countries or either of them to send troops to Korea, it is hereby understood that they shall give, each to

the other, previous notice in writing of their intention so to do, and that after the matter is settled, they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them there.

Signed and sealed this 18th day of the 4th month, of the 18th year of Meiji (Japanese Calendar); the 4th day of the 3rd moon of the 11th year of Kocho (Chinese Calendar).

(L.S.) IRO,
*Ambassador Extraordinary of the Great
Empire of Japan, &c.*

(L.S.) LI,
*Special Plenipotentiary of the Great
Empire of China, &c.*

THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI, 1895

The Chinese and Japanese Plenipotentiaries, who met at Shimonoseki to discuss the terms of peace between the two countries, dealt with the independence of Korea. The Japanese proposal submitted on April 1st was:—

“China recognises definitively the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea, and in consequence the payment of tribute and the performance of ceremonies and formalities by Korea to China in derogation of such independence and autonomy shall wholly cease for the future.”

In reply Li Hung Chang wrote:—

“The Chinese Government some two months ago indicated its willingness to recognise the full and complete independence and guarantee the complete neutrality of Korea, and is ready to insert such a stipulation in the Treaty; but in due reciprocity, such stipulation should likewise be made by Japan. Hence the article will require to be modified in this respect.”

On April 6th the Chinese Plenipotentiary was asked to formulate his wording of the clause. He did so (April 9th) as follows:—

“China and Japan recognise definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy, and guarantee the complete neutrality of Korea, and it is agreed that the interference by either in the internal affairs of Korea in derogation of such autonomy or the performances of ceremonies and formalities by Korea inconsistent with such independence, shall wholly cease for the future.”

To this Japan replied (April 10th):—

“The Japanese Plenipotentiaries find it necessary to adhere to this Article as originally presented to the Chinese Plenipotentiary.”

The clause finally appeared in the Treaty as originally framed by Japan.

RUSSO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT, MAY-JUNE, 1896

The Representatives of Russia and Japan at Seoul, having conferred under the identical instructions from their respective Governments, have arrived at the following conclusions :—

I. While leaving the matter of His Majesty's, the King of Korea, return to the Palace, entirely to his own discretion and judgment, the Representatives of Russia and Japan will in a friendly way advise His Majesty to return to that place, when no doubts concerning his safety there could be entertained.

The Japanese Representative, on his part, gives the assurance, that the most complete and effective measures will be taken for the control of Japanese *soshi*.

II. The present Cabinet Ministers have been appointed by His Majesty from his own free will, and most of them held ministerial or other high offices during the last two years, and are known to be liberal and moderate men.

The two Representatives will always aim at recommending to His Majesty to appoint liberal and moderate men as Ministers and to show clemency to his subjects.

III. The Representative of Russia quite agrees with the Representative of Japan that, at the present state of affairs in Korea, it may be necessary to have Japanese guards stationed at some places for the protection of the Japanese telegraph line between Fusan and Seoul, and that these guards, now consisting of three companies of soldiers, should be withdrawn as soon as possible and replaced by gendarmes, who will be distributed as follows : fifty men at Tai-ku, fifty men at Ka-heung, and ten men each at ten intermediate posts between Fusan and Seoul. This distribution may be liable to some changes, but the total number of the gendarme force shall never exceed 200 men, who will afterwards gradually be withdrawn from such places where peace and order have been restored by the Korean Government.

IV. For the protection of the Japanese settlements at Seoul and the open ports against possible attacks by the Korean populace, two

companies of Japanese troops may be stationed at Seoul, one company at Fusan and one at Gensan, each company not to exceed 200 men. These troops will be quartered near the settlements and shall be withdrawn as soon as no apprehension of such attack could be entertained.

For the protection of the Russian Legation and Consulate, the Russian Government may also keep guards not exceeding the number of Japanese troops at those places, and these will be withdrawn as soon as tranquility in the interior is completely restored.

(Signed) C. WAEBER,
Representative of Russia.

(Signed) J. KOMURA,
Representative of Japan.

SEOUL, *May 14, 1896.*

PROCTOCOL, JUNE 9, 1896

The Secretary of State, Prince Labanow-Rostovsky, Foreign Minister of Russia, and Marshal Marquis Yamagata, Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, having exchanged their views on the situation in Korea, agreed upon the following articles :—

I. For the remedy of the financial difficulties of Korea, the Governments of Russia and Japan will advise the Korean Government to retrench all superfluous expenditure and to establish a balance between expenses and revenues. If, in consequence of reforms deemed indispensable, it may become necessary to have recourse to foreign loans, both Governments shall, by mutual concert, give their support to Korea.

II. The Governments of Russia and Japan shall endeavour to leave to Korea, as far as the financial and commercial situation of that country will permit, the formation and maintenance of a national armed force, and police of such proportions as will be sufficient for the preservation of internal peace without foreign support.

III. With a view to facilitate communications with Korea the Japanese Government may continue to administer the telegraph lines which are at present in its hands.

It is reserved to Russia (the right) of building a telegraph line between Seoul and her frontiers.

These different lines can be repurchased by the Korean Government as soon as it has the means to do so.

IV. In case the above matters should require a more exact or detailed explanation, or if subsequently some other points should present themselves upon which it should be necessary to confer, the representatives of both Governments shall be authorised to negotiate in a spirit of friendship.

(Signed) LOBANOW. YAMAGATA.

MOSCOW, June 9, 1896.

PROTOCOL, APRIL, 1898

Baron Nishi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and Baron Rosen, le Conseiller d'Etat actuel et Chambellan, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, duly authorised to that effect, have agreed upon the following Articles in pursuance of Article IV. of the Protocol signed at Moscow on the 9th June (28th May), 1896, between Marshal Marquis Yamagata and Prince Lobanow, Secretary of State :—

ART. I.—The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia definitively recognise the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea, and mutually engage to refrain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of that country.

ART. II.—Desiring to avoid every possible cause of misunderstanding in the future, the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage, in case Korea should apply to Japan or to Russia for advice and assistance, not to take any measure in the nomination of military instructors and financial advisers without having previously come to a mutual agreement on the subject.

ART. III.—In view of the large development of Japanese commercial and industrial enterprises in Korea, as well as the considerable number of Japanese subjects resident in that country, the Imperial Russian Government will not impede the development of the commercial and industrial relations between Japan and Korea.

Done at Tokyo, in duplicate, this 25th day of April, 1898.

NISHI.
ROSEN.

CLAUSES IN THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCES RELATING TO KOREA

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, JANUARY, 1902.

ART. I.—The High Contracting Parties, having mutually recognised the independence of China and Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree, politically as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the High Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, SEPTEMBER 27, 1905.

Preamble.—The Governments of Japan and Great Britain, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on the 30th of January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles, which have for their object :—

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India ;

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China ;

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

ART. III.—Japan possessing paramount political, military, and

economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognises the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance these interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

KOREA AT THE PORTSMOUTH CONFERENCE

The first clause of the Japanese demands at the Portsmouth Conference dealt with Korea :—

“Russia, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests, to engage not to obstruct or interfere with any measures of guidance, protection and control which Japan finds it necessary to take in Korea.”

In reply the Russian representatives made the following statement :—

“Le premier article ne soulève pas d'objection. Le Gouvernement Impérial, reconnaissant que le Japon possède en Corée des intérêts prépondérants politiques, militaires et économiques, est prêt à s'engager à ne point obstruer ni intervenir en ce prendre en Corée. Il va sans dire que, de protection et de contrôle que le Japon considérera nécessaire de prendre en Corée. Il va sans dire que la Russie et les sujets russes jouiront de tous les droits qui appartiennent ou appartiendront aux autres Puissances Etrangères et leurs ressortissants. Il est également entendu que la mise en vigueur par le Japon des mesures susmentionnées ne portera pas atteinte aux droits souverains de l'Empereur de Corée. En ce qui concerne particulièrement les mesures militaires, le Japon, dans le but d'éloigner toute cause de malentendu, s'abstiendra de prendre des mesures qui pourraient menacer la sécurité du territoire russe limitrophe de la Corée.”

The clause of the Treaty as finally arranged was :—

“The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests, engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea.

“It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated exactly in the same manner as the subjects or citizens of other foreign Powers, that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects or citizens of the favoured nation.

“It is also agreed that, in order to avoid all cause of misunderstanding, the two High Contracting Parties will abstain, on the Russo-Korean frontier, from taking any military measure which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory.”

JAPAN-KOREAN PROTOCOL, FEBRUARY 23, 1904

Mr. Hyashi, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and Major-General Yi Tchi Yong, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs interim of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, being respectively duly empowered for the purpose, have agreed upon the following Articles :—

ART. I. For the purpose of maintaining a permanent and solid friendship between Japan and Korea and firmly establishing peace in the Far East, the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvement in administration.

ART. II. The Imperial Government of Japan shall in a spirit of firm friendship ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea.

ART. III. The Imperial Government of Japan definitively guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.

ART. IV. In case the welfare of the Imperial House of Korea or the territorial integrity of Korea is endangered by aggression of a third Power or internal disturbances, the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as the circumstances require, and in such cases the Imperial Government of Korea shall give full facilities to promote action of the Imperial Japanese Government.

The Imperial Government of Japan may, for the attainment of the above-mentioned object, occupy, when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategical points of view.

ART. V. The Governments of the two countries shall not in future, without mutual consent, conclude with a third Power such an arrangement as may be contrary to the principle of the present Protocol.

ART. VI. Details in connection with the present Protocol shall be arranged as the circumstances may require, between the Representative of Japan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Korea.

Done at Seoul, February 23, 1904.

This relation between the two countries was further made closer with the restoration of peace, and by a new convention concluded at that time Korea was placed under the protection of Japan.

AGREEMENT
JAPAN-KOREAN TREATY, AUGUST, 1904

1. The Korean Financial Department to engage a Japanese as Superintendent of Korean finances in order to carry out fiscal reforms.

2. Japan to advance the necessary funds to Korea in order to enable her to effect financial reforms, 3,000,000 yen being lent as first instalment.

3. Sound currency system to be established by abolishing the present Mint and withdrawing the copper coins now in circulation.

4. Currency union to be established between Japan and Korea, and Japanese money to be accepted as legal tender by the Koreans.

5. A Central Bank to be established in Korea to facilitate the collection of taxes and the handling of public money.

6. A model administrative system to be adopted in Kyong-kwi Province, and similar system to be adopted in other provinces when this experiment proves successful.

7. Mr. W. H. Stevens is to be engaged by the Korean Foreign Department as its Adviser in order to improve foreign intercourse.

8. Korea to recall her Ministers and Consuls stationed abroad when she decides to place her foreign affairs and the protection of her subjects staying abroad in charge of Japan.

9. The Foreign Ministers to Korea to be withdrawn from Seoul and the Foreign Consuls alone to remain on duty with the withdrawal of the Korean Ministers and Consuls from the foreign countries.

10. The Korean army, at present 20,000, to be reduced to 1,000, and all the garrisons in the provinces to be disbanded, one at Seoul alone being kept.

11. Military arms to be made common between Japan and Korea with the object of adjusting the existing military system in the latter country.

12. Soothsayers, fortune-tellers, and other officials ministering to superstition to be expelled from the surroundings of the Sovereign to uphold his dignity.

13. All superfluous Government offices and officials to be discharged.

14. Government posts to be made open to all classes of the people, without regard to rank and family relation.

15. The practice of selling Government posts to be prohibited, and the officials to be selected from among those who are competent.

16. Salaries of the Ministers of State and other Government officials to be increased so as to awake in them a stronger sense of responsibility.

17. Definite educational policy to be established, and organisation of universities, middle schools, and primary schools to be modelled after that existing in Japan; also technical schools to be established in order to encourage industry.

18. A distinct line of demarkation to be drawn between the Court and the Government.

12. The present foreign Advisers to be reduced in number with the abolition and amalgamation of the Government offices.

20. The post of Supreme Adviser to the Korean Government to remain unfilled for the present.

21. Agriculture to be improved by reclaiming waste lands and developing the natural resources of the soil.

TREATY BETWEEN JAPAN AND KOREA

Signed November 17, 1905.

The Japanese and Korean Governments, being desirous of strengthening the identity of interests which unite the two Empires, have, with the same end in view, agreed upon the following Articles, which will remain binding until the power and prosperity of Korea are recognised as having been firmly established :—

I. The Japanese Government, through the Foreign Office at Tokyo, will henceforward take control and direct the foreign relations and affairs of Korea, and Japanese diplomatic representatives and Consuls will protect the subjects and interests of Korea abroad.

II. The Japanese Government will take upon itself the duty of carrying out the existing Treaties between Korea and foreign countries, and the Korean Government binds itself not to negotiate any Treaty or Agreement of a diplomatic nature without the intermediary of the Japanese Government.

III. (a) The Japanese Government will appoint under His Majesty the Emperor of Korea a Resident-General as its representative, who will remain in Seoul chiefly to administer diplomatic affairs with the prerogative of having private audience with His Majesty the Emperor of Korea.

(b) The Japanese Government is entitled to appoint a Resident to every Korean open port and other places where the presence of such Resident is considered necessary. These Residents, under the supervision of the Resident-General, will administer all the duties hitherto appertaining to Japanese Consulates in Korea and all other affairs necessary for the satisfactory fulfilment of the provisions of this treaty.

IV. All the existing Treaties and Agreements between Japan and Korea, within limits not prejudicial to the provisions of this Treaty, will remain in force.

V. The Japanese Government guarantees to maintain the security and respect the dignity of the Korean Imperial House.

In witness whereof the undersigned, with due power granted by their respective Governments, have signed this Treaty and affixed their seals.

HAYASHI GONSUKE,
*Japanese Minister Plenipotentiary and
Envoy Extraordinary.*

PAK CHE SOON,
*Korean Minister of State for Foreign
Affairs.*

THE JAPAN-KOREAN TREATY, JULY 24, 1907

The Government of Japan and the Government of Korea, with the object of speedily providing for the power and wealth of Korea and also of promoting the welfare of the Korean people, have agreed on the following Articles :—

ART. I. The Government of Korea shall follow the guidance of the Resident-General in effecting administrative reforms.

ART. II. All the laws to be enacted and all important administrative measures to be undertaken by the Korean Government shall previously receive the consent and approval of the Resident-General.

ART. III. Distinction shall be observed between the administration of justice by the Government of Korea and the business of ordinary administration.

ART. IV. The appointment and dismissal of high officials of Korea shall be at the pleasure of the Resident-General.

ART. V. The Government of Korea shall appoint to the Government offices of Korea any Japanese the Resident-General may recommend.

ART. VI. The Government of Korea shall engage no foreigner without the consent of the Resident-General.

ART. VII. Clause 1 of the Japan-Korea Agreement signed August 22, Meiji 37 (1904), is rescinded.

July 24, 40th year Meiji.

July 24, 11th year Kwangmu.

*Resident-General ITO.
Prime Minister YI.*

PETITION FROM THE KOREANS OF HAWAII TO
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

HONOLULU, T.H.

July 12, 1905.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The undersigned have been authorised by the 8,000 Koreans now residing in the territory of Hawaii at a special mass meeting held in the city of Honolulu, on July 12, 1905, to present to your Excellency the following appeal :—

We, the Koreans of the Hawaiian Islands, voicing the sentiments of twelve millions of our countrymen, humbly lay before your Excellency the following facts :—

Soon after the commencement of the war between Russia and Japan, our Government made a treaty of alliance with Japan for offensive and defensive purposes. By virtue of this treaty the whole of Korea was opened to the Japanese, and both the Government and the people have been assisting the Japanese authorities in their military operations in and about Korea.

The contents of this treaty are undoubtedly known to your Excellency, therefore we need not embody them in this appeal. Suffice it to state, however, the object of the treaty was to preserve the independence of Korea and Japan and to protect Eastern Asia from Russia's aggression.

Korea, in return for Japan's friendship and protection against Russia, has rendered services to the Japanese by permitting them to use the country as a base of their military operations.

When this treaty was concluded, the Koreans fully expected that Japan would introduce reforms into the governmental administration along the line of the modern civilisation of Europe and America, and that she would advise and counsel our people in a friendly manner, but to our disappointment and regret the Japanese Government has not done a single thing in the way of improving the condition of the Korean people. On the contrary, she turned loose several thousand rough and disorderly men of her nationals in Korea, who are treating the inoffensive Koreans in a most outrageous manner. The Koreans are by nature not a quarrelsome or aggressive people, but deeply resent the high-handed action of the Japanese towards them. We can scarcely believe that the Japanese Government approves the outrages committed by its

people in Korea, but it has done nothing to prevent this state of affairs. They have been, during the last eighteen months, forcibly obtaining all the special privileges and concessions from our Government, so that to-day they practically own everything that is worth having in Korea.

We, the common people of Korea, have lost confidence in the promises Japan made at the time of concluding the treaty of alliance, and we doubt seriously the good intentions which she professes to have towards our people. For geographical, racial, and commercial reasons we want to be friendly to Japan, and we are even willing to have her as our guide and example in the matters of internal reforms and education, but the continuous policy of self-exploitation at the expense of the Koreans has shaken our confidence in her, and we are now afraid that she will not keep her promise of preserving our independence as a nation, nor assisting us in reforming internal administration. In other words, her policy in Korea seems to be exactly the same as that of Russia prior to the war.

The United States has many interests in our country. The industrial, commercial, and religious enterprises under American management, have attained such proportions that we believe the Government and people of the United States ought to know the true conditions of Korea and the result of the Japanese becoming paramount in our country. We know that the people of America love fair play and advocate justice towards all men. We also know that your Excellency is the ardent exponent of a square deal between individuals as well as nations, therefore we come to you with this memorial with the hope that Your Excellency may help our country at this critical period of our national life.

We fully appreciate the fact that during the conference between the Russian and Japanese peace envoys, Your Excellency may not care to make any suggestion to either party as to the conditions of their settlement, but we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will see to it that Korea may preserve her autonomous Government and that other Powers shall not oppress or maltreat our people. The clause in the treaty between the United States and Korea gives us a claim upon the United States for assistance, and this is the time when we need it most.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

(Sgd.) P. K. YOON.

SYNGMAN RHEE.



D00813080K

951.9

M156T

112600

